# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-96-099
Tuesday
21 May 1996

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Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-96-099* *21 May 1996*

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**Russia: Yeltsin Does Not Rule Out Major Cabinet Reshuffle**

*LD2005162396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 20 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [no dateline as received] President Boris Yeltsin does not rule out the possibility of replacing most of the current Cabinet members with what he called fresh people, and borrowing the most constructive ideas from the election programs of other presidential candidates. He made this announcement in an interview with the Omsk TV and radio company Irtysh Sunday.

"One should not act in a peremptory way or present one's program as the only impeccable one. Absolutely not!" said President Yeltsin. "Why not take all original ideas which Grigoriy Yavlinskiy has shared with me, or the ideas proposed by other candidates?" he said.

"The same refers to the personnel problem. Why not take personnel from other political movements?" he continued.

"The present government staff has gone bureaucratic and annoys the population who do not trust the bureaucrats," said Yeltsin. "So we need to replace a larger part of the government with fresh people who will look at the problems facing Russia from a new angle," he went on to say.

As reported earlier, leader of the Yabloko movement, presidential candidate Grigoriy Yavlinskiy last week passed to the president a letter which demanded that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Chief of Yeltsin's Staff Nikolay Yegorov be removed from their posts.

Yavlinskiy explained his demand by the necessity to change the situation in the country for the better.

In an interview with Interfax Sunday Yavlinskiy reaffirmed his position and said that one could talk about a compromise with Yeltsin only if the said figures were removed from their posts.

Yavlinskiy declined to comment on the president's statement to the effect that part of the government members might be replaced, saying that he neither heard of it nor read it.

Speaking in the Russian TV program Zerkalo (Mirror) Yavlinskiy stated that during his latest talks with the president he did not demand being appointed prime minister.

"Generally speaking, I am not asking Yeltsin for anything," said Yavlinskiy. "Today President Yeltsin is a presidential candidate like myself, so we are equal in this respect," he said.

He said he had told President Yeltsin that he was ready to discuss a third candidacy to the post of prime minister which the president would name.

He noted that only one fifth of his letter was devoted to the problem of the prime minister, and four fifths to "how to end the war in Chechnya, how to recover the economy and how to combat crime."

Another presidential candidate, Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, told Interfax while commenting on Yavlinskiy's letter to the president, that Yavlinskiy's possible union with the president might be tantamount to Yavlinskiy's "political death, because most of his voters will most probably refuse to support such a union."

"At one time, three people gathered in Belovezhskaya Pushcha to divide the great country between the three of them. Yavlinskiy's proposal is an attempt to restructure the country for the benefit of the two," said Zyuganov.

"I don't exclude that Yavlinskiy and Yeltsin will come to the end of their political careers," said Zyuganov.

He also said that Yavlinskiy's proposal that the State Duma be dissolved if it turns down his candidacy to the post of premier three times "is casting a shadow on his democratic image."

Prominent human-rights activist State Duma Deputy Sergey Kovalev believes that Yavlinskiy will most probably not withdraw from the presidential campaign."

He told reporters on Sunday evening that the possibility of a compromise between Yavlinskiy and Yeltsin "is equal to zero."

**Russia: Yeltsin Addresses Siberian Group in Omsk**

*LD1905183596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0915 GMT 19 May 96*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Andrey Shtorkh and Anatoliy Petrov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Omsk, 19 May (ITAR-TASS) — "A salutary thought is going around Russian society more and more: In order to finally get out of the crisis, we need to search for public accord and the consolidation of the Russian people. There is no more important task facing us than to safeguard peace in the country and a tranquil life for the people." This was said today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, speaking at a session of the international association "Siberian

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Agreement," which was held in the building of the Omsk regional administration.

According to Boris Yeltsin, it is time to break the vicious circle of civil confrontation. We have to do this in order to pass on to our children a peaceful country and to protect Russia, he said. The president recalled all the cataclysms which the country had gone through in the past eight decades, and stressed that such a tragedy should never be allowed to happen again. Noting that the people of Siberia have always been pioneers, Boris Yeltsin said that "today you and I and all the Russian people are again pioneers." Speaking about the scale and depth of the changes which had begun in Russia, Boris Yeltsin said that "in this sense we are, as it were, repeating the exploits of the people of Siberia."

Regarding the economicc problems in Siberia, which the "Siberian Agreement" inter-regional association is trying to solve, Boris Yeltsin stressed that "the time had come not just to develop Siberia as a source of natural resources, but to use these resources to improve its economy and to enhance the standard of living of the Siberian people. Siberia can and will develop as an integrated Russian region with a strong economic base. There has to be an integrated approach to solving the problems facing the Siberian people, and this means that a federal long-term program for the development of Siberia is needed, the head of state said. [no closing quotation mark as received] According to him, a version of such a program for one year is being discussed in various offices. A decree of the Russian president on additional measures of state support for the economic and social development of Siberia has been prepared.

Boris Yeltsin spoke about certain important measures in the sphere of the economy, the preparation of which is now being completed. First and foremost, according to the head of state, it is proposed to establish minimum living standards in 1996. They include, he said, scales of wages, pensions and benefits, and comprise free education, health, and cultural services. The president said that additional measures to keep down unemployment will be adopted in 1996-97. The staff of enterprises which have been closed will be protected by supernumerary benefits and other benefits during their period of requalification.

Boris Yeltsin said that the Russian leadership will take decisive steps to increase the incomes of the less well-off groups of the population in order to align minimum wage and pension scales with the size of the minimum living standards. According to the president, minimum branch and territorial wage scales had been established which are additional to the federal budget. Boris Yeltsin also recalled that, in accordance with the presidential decree which was signed the other day, a partial indexation of depreciated investments in savings banks will begin on 10 June this year. However, the main measures on compensation of investments will start next year. We shall be returning the state's debt bit by bit and will gradually return all of it, Boris Yeltsin stressed.

Speaking of finances, Boris Yeltsin noted that Siberia's rich natural wealth will sooner or later attract investments. The task of the Russian leadership is to encourage this in every possible way. Yeltsin, however, said that the main political condition for Russia's economic growth is the success of the presidential elections. "I don't think we should explain that on 16 June we will be voting 'for' or 'against' investments in our economy; 'for' or 'against' stability in society and therefore 'for' or 'against' the revival of our state," the head of state said.

Boris Yeltsin described the creation of a favorable climate for foreign and domestic investments in Siberia as one of the most important tasks for the state. According to him, Siberia could become a model for investment development. The president said that something had already been achieved. In particular, a softer line had been taken with regard to the tax regime for foreign investments, the cars and equipment, which were being imported, had been exempted from value added tax.

Yeltsin, however, said that extra steps will be taken in the near future to support the exporters. Customs dues have considerably been reduced for them and cancelled completely on some of the goods.

Speaking of the recent decisions on the future of the exchange rate band ruble, Yeltsin said that this measure, which had been operating for almost a year, allowed stabilizing the financial system of Russia and curbing inflation. The head of state stressed that there was now a possibility to regulate the exchange rate more flexibly, by taking into account the exchange rate and changes in the currency supply. We, the president, said, would strive towards the stable ruble exchange rate, levelling out the currency fluctuations and forcing the dollar out of the Russian economy.

Boris Yeltsin spoke at length about power engineering-related issues. He recalled that the Siberian Agreement, together with other organizations, had started drawing up an energy strategy for Siberia, and said the main question that had to be answered was what mechanisms would make it possible to attain the desired goals.

The head of state backed a proposal to set up a zonal energy commission in Siberia as a branch of the

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federal commission. If fuel in Siberia becomes cheaper than in other regions, Siberian products will become competitive, the president noted. To achieve this, he said, differentiated gas prices have to be set, reflecting transportation costs. However, no less than one half of all energy resources have to processed here in the region, and only the rest should be sold, the head of state stressed.

Boris Yeltsin instructed Economics Minister Yevgeniy Yasin and Fuel and Power Engineering Minister Yuriy Shafranik to study the Siberian Agreement's proposals on eliminating Omsk Region's dependence on coal supplies from Kazakhstan. This, Boris Yeltsin said, could be done by reorienting the heat and power engineering sector towards the use of coal from Kuzbass.

Boris Yeltsin also touched upon the transport issue. He said Siberia's expanses not only impress one and strike one's imagination, but also make life much more difficult. In particular, expenses on the use of railways are very high. This leads to low efficiency. This is why direct state support is required, the president stressed. He said the government's decision on temporary stabilization of transport charges was real help to Siberian enterprises on the part of the center. At the same time the federal budget cannot subsidize transport charges ad infinitum.

The Russian president called for transportation to be made commercially profitable. He said the efficiency of transport flows had to be increased. You can look at it this way: We are now granting you a credit, and Siberian enterprises will repay it while emerging from the crisis promptly.

Boris Yeltsin also spoke about the issue of relations between the center and the regions. In Siberia, different regions have different levels of economic development. In view of this, some Regions were subsidized from the state budget in the past and some are still being subsidized. According to the president, is high time to sort out interbudget relations, and here the Siberian Agreement association has a great opportunity to show its worth.

It was impossible for Yeltsin to pass over an issue so topical in Russia at the moment, namely the forthcoming presidential election. When casting their votes, the people of Siberia will be delivering a verdict not just on the work of the president and the government, but also on the work of local authorities, he said. I do believe, Boris Yeltsin said, that people can tell the difference between real deeds and the demagoguery of those who are only rocking the boat we are all in to satisfy their own political ambitions.

The head of state expressed his confidence that Russia had matured enough to move at last to a civilized political life. For me, a victory in the election is not a victory over a political opponent, Boris Yeltsin stressed, but a way to preserve civil peace and establish solid public accord, a way to maintain stability and normal life for the people of Russia. I take full responsibility when I say that I will have enough experience and strength to avert further upheavals, Boris Yeltsin said. My strength is increasing many times over thanks to your support, to the support of the people of Siberia, to the support of the people of Russia, the president noted.

**Russia: Support Group Publishes Yeltsin Questions, Answers Booklet**

*MM2005160596 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 96 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "One Hundred Questions — 99 Answers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An advance [signalnyy] copy of the brochure "100 Questions..." [100 voprosov...] produced by the All-Russia Movement for Public Support for Boris Yeltsin has been published. The questions put to the head of state are very varied, including the following:

[Question] What newspapers does Yeltsin read?

[Yeltsin] It is clear to the authorities that rayon newspapers — as the most accessible newspapers to Russians living in the boondocks — need undoubted state support. The question of how many newspapers founded by organs of state power there should be and what they should be like is clear too. It would hardly be right for the president and the government to have just two rostrums — ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. As for Yeltsin's predilections as a reader, he gets most of his information from press reviews prepared by his aides. But there are newspapers for which Yeltsin has particular respect. These are IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and certain others. [Yeltsin ends]

Other answers to the questions put to B. Yeltsin can be read in today's issue of the newspaper [as published] DOM I OTECHESTVO.

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**Russia: Supporters of Professional Army Should Vote for Yeltsin**

*MM2105102696 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

[Reader's letter from Lieutenant Colonel N. Starikov: "Military in Favor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Certain cautious commentators who started categorically stating, immediately after the Russian president's edict on the transition to Army manpower acquisition on a professional footing appeared, that the military would not support the decision are in for a surprise. Where does their prejudice come from? The overwhelming majority of military men, particularly command personnel, have always been in favor of a professional Army. Who would be opposed to having as his subordinates not callow youths but well-trained warriors, to seeing both them and himself well provided-for, and to dealing not with endless economic problems but with our beloved military work? It is another matter that the military know better than anyone how hard it is to implement the idea of a professional Army, and how much effort and money it will take. That is why, to my mind, we need to particularly emphasize the importance of Paragraph 2 of the edict, which states the need for a system of measures to encourage contract service, and for corresponding draft laws. We have repeatedly seen for ourselves that the very best intentions can remain just intentions if they are not backed up by proper mechanisms for implementing them.

And there is one other point to mention: Judging by the fact that some of Yeltsin's opponents are going all-out to criticize him over this edict, having been initiated by the current president it can only be implemented by him, as a result of his political will. That is why everyone who wants to strengthen the Army on a professional footing should now be supporting the supreme commander in chief.

[signed] Lieutenant Colonel N. Starikov

**Russia: Press Publicity Material for Yeltsin Described**

*MM2005154496*

[FBIS Report] Election publicity material on behalf of incumbent president Boris Yeltsin in the Russian press monitored by MMU during the first week of official campaigning (free television and radio air time for the 11 presidential candidates began 14 May) has taken the form of 7"x5" double-column transcripts of messages received from callers to the "Trust the President" hotline which was established some weeks ago (see second paragraph of first referent item).

The first of these messages (see second referent item) from Vera Sergeyevna Kirillova who asserts, "Of course, I will vote only for Yeltsin and for Luzhkov." was carried in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and TRUD on 14 May. This item was not carried by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, PRAVDA, SELSKAYA ZHIZN, or by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI for 14 May which were also monitored by MMU.

On 15 May the second of this type of item from Aleksandra Matveyevna Chelyushkina, warning against a return to communism and saying: "We must pick Yeltsin despite everything," (see third referent item) was carried by IZVESTIYA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The other papers for 15 May monitored by MMU and which published on 15 (namely KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, PRAVDA, and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA) did not carry such an item. TRUD did not publish 15 May.

On 16 May IZVESTIYA re-ran the Kirillova message (second referent item), while SELSKAYA ZHIZN ran it for the first time. TRUD, however ran the Chelyushkina message (third referent item). The other papers for that day (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, PRAVDA, PRAVDA ROSSII, and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI did not carry items of this kind.

On 17 May IZVESTIYA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA re-ran Chelyushkina, while TRUD-7 and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA re-ran Kirillova. Neither item was carried by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, PRAVDA-5, nor by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

On 18 May IZVESTIYA once again ran Kirillova's message (second referent item) as did TRUD and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The other papers for 18 May (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI did not carry such an item.

PLACEMENT: Different papers have different patterns of carrying items of this kind.

On the sole occasion when ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carried such a report (14 May) it was carried on the back page underneath an advertisement and above usual backpage publication data of the newspaper.

IZVESTIYA has consistently run these items on the top of page three (the foreign news page) alongside advertisements for electronic goods and office equipment. The exception was on 14 May when it was run at the

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bottom left of the home news page (p 2) — in a boxed section alongside advertisements.

On the sole occasion that SELSKAYA ZHIZN has run an item of this kind, it was carried at the bottom of page 13. The rest of the page was devoted to a feature on sturgeon; no other advertisements were carried on that page.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has usually carried these items at the top right of page 5 alongside foreign news, and above a section of advertisements which have a heading reading "Reklama KP" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publicity).

TRUD runs these items usually alongside advertisements and on 17 may it was on a page entirely devoted to advertisements; on 18 May however, no advertisements accompanied the item.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which was the only paper to frontpage such an item (ON 17 May), does not run it alongside any other advertisements.

**Russia: Rectors Send Letter in Support of Yeltsin**

*LD2005165596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1618 GMT 20 May 96*

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 May (Itar-Tass) — Rectors of 51 higher educational establishments from different Russian towns have sent an open letter to the Russian presidential contenders, who are advocating the continuation of reforms: Boris Yeltsin, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Aleksandr Lebed, and Svyatoslav Fedorov.

This letter, in particular, says: "We are urging you, the recognized leaders of democracy and candidates for the presidency from the most responsible political forces of our society, to demonstrate civic wisdom by taking the long-due decision to nominate a single candidate with a single democratic program for Russia to develop its reforms progressively. We are confident that Boris Yeltsin could become a unifying candidate who will be able to consolidate all progressive forces. In that event, the future of Russia will be reliably safeguarded from the return to the models that have historically outlived their usefulness."

**Russia: Landowners Meet To Discuss Backing Yeltsin**

*MM2105094496 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Article by Lyudmila Gladkikh: "Congress Votes. But What About People?..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Second Congress of the Russian Union of Landowners took place in Moscow Wednesday [15 May] in the Federation Council's Great Hall on Tsvetnoy Bulvar. It comprised horticulturists, rabbit breeders, beekeepers, and owners of personal plots. Delegates from the Peasant Party of Russia, the Union of Private Owners, the Russian Union of Land Users, and representatives of republic, kray, and oblast associations of peasant farms and agricultural cooperatives also took part. In all over 500 people from the country's 80 regions were present.

What had upset workers on the land during the busy spring time? What made them leave their fields, orchards, truck gardens, and apiaries to rush to Moscow for a lofty discussion — for a congress?!

Hardly the chance of buying goods from the packed stalls and kiosks in the foyer of the Great Hall — books, seeds, footwear, and perfume. Nor, needless to say, the chance of a free look at the merry dances performed by boys and girls in colorful national dress.

It turns out that the congress organizers had convened the "people's assembly" in order to discuss the "highly important" issue of "how to support B.N. Yeltsin in the coming presidential election."

In his report V.F. Bashmachnikov, president of the Association of Russian Peasant (Private) Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives and leader of the Union of Landowners of Russia, assessing the features of the current situation, rightly noted the existence of two main political forces in society: Yeltsin and Zyuganov. In his preoccupation with the difficult situation the speaker started teaching farmers the facts of life.

According to the speaker, the former is the leader of those who "are flexible, are willing to adjust, and want a new life for Russian citizens," while the latter supports a "move to turn back the clock" and "advocates the revision of the Constitution and, thus, of the democratic system."

The speaker was particularly worried by the question of how to secure victory for B.N. Yeltsin. Needless to say, he sees the solution not in changing the regime's agrarian policy, which has brought the countryside to the brink of disaster, but in "carrying out tremendous organizational and explanatory work" among country

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people: It is necessary "...to step up our activity at local level..., prevent our enemies from winning operational-tactical supremacy..., and lucidly and cogently expose the crux of Boris Yeltsin's position on issues of vital importance..." etc.

According to the speaker, the president's edict "On Implementing Citizens' Constitutional Rights to Land" is the subject of particularly close attention here.

Thus what delegates have to do is show each concrete individual, particularly the dim-witted peasant, that Boris Nikolayevich's policy, primarily this document, is beneficial to everyone, above all the farmer.

But the draft law entitled "Special Features of the Implementation of Citizens' Constitutional Rights to Land," which has been elaborated by the State Duma and given a first reading, along with the Land Code, which has been given a second reading, were not to V.F. Bashmachnikov's taste; they are allegedly "extremely one-sided" and effectively "limit people's rights to a land share and paralyze entrepreneurial initiative in the countryside." How do they limit their rights and how do they paralyze initiative? The answer to these questions remained vague.

The speech by First Vice Premier A.Kh. Zaveryukha dealt more closely with issues of agricultural production and its problems. However, while bearing in mind agrarians' special position and the complexities of the election period, he also pursued the idea that tremendous, painstaking work lies ahead in order to formulate election tactics in the countryside.

"Boris Yeltsin's confederates must become canvassers (perhaps that is the wrong word?) and campaigners, who will need to make plenty of effort today to completely convince those working in the agrarian sector of the need to back the president's course and of the irreversibility of reform." But he was unable to offer the canvassers any outstanding evidence. A mixed economy and market are regrettably slow to form. He said that one of the reasons, "along with the inflation, taxes, the monopoly exercised by various sectors, etc," is the lack of a normal legislative base. First and foremost a Land Code is needed.

"We need such a code today, we really need it," A.Kh. Zaveryukha said, but he immediately scared people by saying that, if the Duma ratifies it in its present form, it will not get through the Federation Council. And President Boris Yeltsin will reject it for sure.

The vice premier pointed out that, despite the considerable difficulties, 280,000 private farmers in Russia have proved themselves viable. Today they own 12 million hectares of land. The personal and private sectors produce 42 percent of dairy produce and 86 percent of vegetables and potatoes. The figures speak for themselves; the process is gaining momentum. Admittedly, relative momentum if you remember the depth of the slump in all agricultural production.

But what was on people's minds?

The delegates' opinions were divided over the edict.

"It may be good and progressive," speakers said. But they did ask at the same time: Why is it couched in such a way that it does not benefit the peasant? This is what I.I. Folyak, a private farmer and chairman of the Association of Peasant Farms of Omsk Oblast, said from the congress rostrum:

"In our oblast and elsewhere I have heard that there is considerable opposition to reforms. The transformations which began in the countryside back in 1991 benefited a definite group of leaders. They were rapidly able to avail themselves of the situation and rapidly redistribute things that were easy to divide up. Naturally enough, among themselves. While those who produced the output by truly honest labor were left 'looking the fools,' so to speak.... Now let me say something about the edict. We do, of course, have to rely on it in our work. But it is 'faltering' in the localities. There are examples of people wanting to leave a joint-stock company and form a peasant farm simply not being issued with land on the say-so of a shareholders' meeting. They are using the edict to rob people!"

"The aims are clear and the tasks are also comprehensible," the organizers of the congress were delighted to comment as its participants agreed to vote for Yeltsin. They also voted in favor of the Peasants' Instructions to the President and a number of other documents.

What is to be done in practice, mindful of the specific situation in the countryside, to wit the remoteness of population centers, the breakdown of the social sphere, and much else besides that is bound to be considered? It is no easy matter to persuade the Russian peasant, given the current conditions in which he has no life but only suffering, with the unsubstantiated appeal to "vote for our candidate!"

The people are indeed accustomed and indifferent to the words and promises of the "elite." After all, they have to face extremely grave domestic and economic problems in their lives and resolve them themselves, often on their own. What is to be done here?

It was no accident that the congress unintentionally ended up discussing problems such as the fact that personal subsidiary plots have been forgotten, the need

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to revive production sharing and be stricter in calling to account those responsible for processing loans, etc.

"You will see from the results how we vote," many delegates said with a smile when asked.

**Russia: Chances of Yeltsin-Yavlinskiy Alliance Examined**

*MK2105103996 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

[Article by Marina Shakina: "Union Is Still in Question"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Much as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA had assumed, Boris Yeltsin found Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's demands to be excessive — especially the part calling for government and presidential staff dismissals and reshuffling. While in Krasnoyarsk, Yeltsin could not help commenting on the document that appeared on the pages of the capital's press literally the day before. "To replace the entire team at once is too much," the president said. Nevertheless, his reaction appears to be rather favorable, and even reassuring, because Yeltsin did not rule out "in the presence of witnesses," as they say, a third meeting with Yavlinskiy.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's forecast could be regarded as justified in yet another aspect. The president stated "why not accept from Yavlinskiy all the interesting ideas that he passed on to me?" Much as our newspaper assumed, Yeltsin, in a bid to demonstrate his openness and the cohesive nature of his possible second presidential term, could very well use the Yabloko leader's ideas for the purpose his campaign. This does not at all mean that Yeltsin will agree to all the rest; that is, those of Yavlinskiy's demands that nearly the entire press characterizes as being in the nature of an ultimatum.

At the same time, the president leaked to the press word to the effect that he had offered Yavlinskiy the position of first [deputy] premier for the economy, which the latter declined. "I do not push away anyone, but some have pride," the president casually remarked, specifying right then and there whom he had in mind. Interestingly, Yavlinskiy for his part, categorically denies that the conversation ever turned to appointments, and insists that the most important thing is a change of course.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is not saying anything else in addition to what he said in his appeal. Trailing from one Yabloko press release to the next are his demands for certain immediate dismissals, combined with statements on his having no wish to become either the premier or anything else.

There is another conspicuous thing: The Yabloko leader is conducting his election campaign in an exceptionally sluggish and less-than-effective manner. Let us just say that all the main presidential candidates spend all their time on board planes traveling around the country with campaign speeches, but nothing is heard of Yavlinskiy's trips. The candidate Yavlinskiy is spending his free air time on television in giving enlightening speeches that explain to the voter the correct technique for voting. All these things give grounds for the belief that Yavlinskiy does not count on winning in the 16 June elections.

More likely than not, the Yabloko leader hoped in the first place that Yeltsin would accept his terms. In the second place Yavlinskiy is taking care of his reputation; he does not want anybody to think that he has "bought" himself a premiership in an election deal. This desire gains sympathy. But the lack of certainty enveloping the relationship between the president and the Yabloko leader does not benefit Yavlinskiy's image. But why then is Yeltsin's unaffected? Because it is Yavlinskiy who lays claim to the more moral policy, whereas people have long given up on Yeltsin as hopeless in this regard.

As it transpires, there is little faith in an alliance between Yeltsin and Yavlinskiy. As for the pro-democracy deputies that your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent talked with, they think nobody is going to withdraw their candidacy ahead of the elections. Let us grant, for example, that Pavel Bunich thinks that a strong move for the president after the first round would be the replacement of the prime minister. Chernomyrdin will not be replaced by Yavlinskiy, however, but rather by Luzhkov, who will be elected mayor of Moscow in a triumphal first round.

**Russia: Zyuganov Views Election, Domestic Situation**

*AU1705131396 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 96 pp 14-16*

[Interview "exclusively for MONITOR" with Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Jelena Sokolova; place and date not given: "Communism for the 21st Century"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A month before the presidential election in Russia (16 June) Gennadiy Zyuganov, the leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, is — according to opinion polls — still in the lead over his main rival, President Boris Yeltsin. Eminent analysts on the Russian political scene assess that Zyuganov and Yeltsin will resolve the battle for the Kremlin "boss" in the second voting. A bigger unknown is the communist candidate and his political program.

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According to some analysts, Zyuganov and his Communist Party are in the process of a quick transformation toward European social democracy; according to others, "it is crazy to think about Russian communists as tame reformers of the Polish and Hungarian type, since they want to return the country to Stalinism," (the statement made by an international banking expert at a recent meeting in Sofia).

The leader of the Russian communists speaks exclusively for MONITOR about the program of his party, his chances in the forthcoming presidential election, about the Russian political scene, NATO enlargement toward Russia, the Balkan crisis, and the war in Chechnya.

[Sokolova] How do you explain the success achieved by the Communist Party in the elections for the State Duma in December 1995 and the support the party receives from Russian citizens?

[Zyuganov] It is the consistent commitment of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation to the ideals of friendship, justice, and freedom — which are the highest aims humanity has always wanted to achieve in its long history. On the other hand, we have explained our success with the fact that the party has a modern program that includes the development of a heterogeneous economy and democratic processes which guarantee the freedom of speech, press, gatherings, and conscientiousness [as published]. The Russian Communist Party has its structures in all republics, regions, and areas of the country and it efficiently uses all forms of political activity based on its theory and program as well as on its human resources. All of our leaders are young, so that the average age of the Central Committee members is 47 years, and the average age of the Duma deputies is 44 years. All this proves that the Russian Communist Party is a modern party that can respond to the challenges of the 21st century.

[Sokolova] Since you have obtained a relative majority in the Duma, do you expect to be successful in the presidential elections, too? How do you assess your chances?

[Zyuganov] First of all, it is very important that the elections be held. We are now working intensively with voters, we are informing them about the party program and our electoral platform. We are doing this through information media; we publish around 150 papers. I believe that if a broad national patriotic coalition is created — and there is a basis for this in the form of 70 organizations with people of various opinions, views, and ages — the bloc has good chances in the election. I would not like to comment on the number of votes now.

[Sokolova] How do you see the Russian political scene on the eve of the presidential elections?

[Zyuganov] The present situation in Russia very much reminds one of theater of the absurd. The country is called a presidential federal republic which is developing a democratic society; but it has nothing to do with this. Instead of democracy, the power is concentrated in the hands of a minority, there is presidential autocracy, and the decrees of the president reach only the Moscow area. The president claims that he guarantees the implementation of the Constitution, although he personally predominantly guarantees lawlessness: He says that he cares for the people and organizes "various physical activities" every month so that workers can get their wages. Eighty percent of all financial means flow through Moscow, and the federation authorities do not even have the money to pay teachers' and physicians' salaries or pensions to the retired.

There is the attempt to bring political terms like capitalism or socialism closer to Russia. Not a single developed country — regardless of whether it is capitalist or socialist — is ready to give up its territories (whereas there are some very intelligent people in Russia who are already ready to share ours with Japan or China) or abandon its markets, and we have lost the weapons market. Not to mention the talented people who are being expelled from the country today.

[Sokolova] Do you intend to make the state controls in the field of finances more rigid? If the Communist Party accepts the market economy, how does it intend to establish a balance between control by the state and the free market?

[Zyuganov] There is no free market as such in the world. We can only speak about a just balance of the state administration methods and market methods. These proportions are different in different countries; the state control reaches from 25-30 to 70 percent.

Under Boris Yeltsin's and Victor Chernomyrdyn's government 50 percent of the companies are private, and they absolutely do not control them. Under the conditions when many companies and whole branches have monopolies, it is not easy to get out of the crisis without some control by the state. In our opinion, the state must have an amount of property that will enable it to offer free schooling to children, give medical care to the elderly, offer personal safety to citizens, and protect the environment. Everything else should be solved taking into consideration the special problems and qualities of Russia. It is not possible to have the same approach to every problem. And the proportion of the state influence is imposed by circumstances in every single case.

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[Sokolova] What is your opinion about the privatization of land?

[Zyuganov] Land is something given to us by God. It is a common value, and therefore our party supports the idea that land should be rented, with the right that it can be inherited. We support the idea that all forms of property should be possible: Collective, shareholding, farmers'. The ownership of houses, gardens, and yards was accepted already a long time ago and confirmed by law. We, however, oppose the possibility that land and arable property can be bought and sold.

[Sokolova] Some representatives of your bloc often spread rumors about the nationalization of private commercial banks, oil companies, privatized companies. What do you think about this?

[Zyuganov] The arrow will not point to the other direction, even if everybody votes for the other direction. We cannot move only forward; we know very well that if we begin to take private property away, Russia can become a big Chechnya. If a privatized company works normally, we shall support it. If a factory or a company has been privatized with the aim to be robbed, we shall prosecute the case in court. Regarding what members of our party say, it can be claimed that such things are typical of members of other blocs too.

[Sokolova] There is a completely negative attitude of the Russian Communist Party and you personally toward the enlargement of NATO to eastern and central European countries. Do you think that the membership of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and some countries of the former Soviet Union in NATO is a danger to the safety of Russia?

[Zyuganov] Yes, I oppose the thinking in terms of military blocs, military psychosis, and the NATO enlargement to the borders of Russia; as a Russian I oppose the idea that foreign rockets are stationed in the vicinity of Moscow. I think that such a policy is absolutely without a perspective. Military blocs have led to horrible wars in this century. NATO enlargement will lead only to deterioration and destabilization in international relations.

There is a concentration of basic raw materials in the Russian territory. If Europe wants to take such a decision, it must keep this circumstance in mind. On the other hand, Russia must care for its safety. As is well known, you cannot fight for respect or peace if you are in the subordinate position. Instead of a military confrontation, we are offering peaceful solutions to problems. The possibilities that the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the Council of Europe have should be used to the maximum.

[Sokolova] People in the former Yugoslavia are mostly interested in your opinion about Russia's policy toward the Balkans. Have all the Russian Federation's possibilities for the settlement of the Balkan crisis been exhausted?

[Zyuganov] Russia does not have a clear-cut foreign policy today. That is why we capitulate and lose our markets; that is why our friends and allies have to surrender. Russia has no defined policy toward the Balkan problem either. As far as the situation there is concerned, it should be resolved in a peaceful way. We have contributed to the peaceful process and we shall contribute to it in the future too. We oppose any blockades in the region, since primarily ordinary people are affected by them and not the rulers who take such decisions. We shall develop our traditional friendships in the Balkans.

[Sokolova] If you win the election, what kind of foreign policy will you pursue? How will you develop relations with the countries of the former socialist community?

[Zyuganov] Our attitude boils down to open relations with both the West and the East; we support the establishment of long-term relations with all countries of the world from the point of view of strategy. We would like to have good neighborly relations with everybody who lives in our vicinity. The priorities in our foreign policy are given to the Eastern and Central European countries — Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. We have good cultural, economic, scientific, and personal ties with them. Many representatives of these countries have been educated in Russia; they are acquainted with our specific problems, our market, just like we are acquainted with theirs.

You have to bear in mind, however, that openness does not mean involvement in the internal policy of someone else.

There is one more thing I would like to add: The Russian Communist Party upholds friendly relations with 150 parties of the left and central left orientation in the world, including the countries of the former socialist community.

[Sokolova] Your negative attitude toward the war in Chechnya is well known. What is the motive for it?

[Zyuganov] Since the very beginning we have been pointing out that there is no military solution to Chechnya. And now, if a peaceful solution is not found, the fire may spread to other regions as well. When we say that no military solution to the crisis in Chechnya is possible, this does not mean that we deny the need that bandit formations, which do not want to lay down their

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weapons and reject amnesty we offer them, should be destroyed. The Chechen problem is, however, neither military nor national; it is economic, and to a large degree also political.

The roots of the war must be sought in the interests of Mafia clans. If they are not disclosed and destroyed, the war will continue and there will be no force that will be able to stop it.

[Sokolova] This is a hard time for Russia. Still, how do you see its future and its place in Europe?

[Zyuganov] Because of its geographic position Russia has played the role of a buffer between Europe and Asia for centuries. God forbid that that buffer does not function any longer.

Apart from that, Russia represents a whole civilization. It has produced talents like Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Tchaikovsky, Korolov, Sakharov. The world would be poorer without them. In its long history, Russia has been confronted with difficult situations more than once, but its qualities such as wit, independence, and serenity, which gave it strength, helped it to recover. It will recover also this time. Russia has always been and it will be a great country.

[Sokolova] What will you do for Russia so that it will really remain a great country?

[Zyuganov] We shall take measures for the people to feel safe and to be able to work normally. And in a free country, a free man will do everything himself — he need not be asked or ordered.

**What Are Foreign Investors Afraid Of?**

[Sokolova] There is the opinion that the Communist Party victory in the election for the Duma stopped foreign investors from investing in Russia. How would you comment on this?

[Zyuganov] I think that such an opinion is — euphemistically speaking — incorrect. Foreign investments in Russia are a pure rumor. Almost nothing is being invested in Russia. We have obtained $5 billion in four years of reforms, whereas Hungary, a small country, obtained $30 billion. More money was invested in the Shanghai area in China than in Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine combined.

I have met businessmen from many countries and I know that investors are not afraid of political parties but of bad investment policies. Investors in Russia are not even given the guarantee that they can calculate their profit according to certain rules or that they will be able to materialize their investment programs. They are not guaranteed personal safety or a clear tax policy.

Therefore, if the government of national confidence succeeds in creating the conditions for civilized business — and I believe it will — investors will invest their money in Russia. They know very well that the Russian market is one of the most favorable.

**Russia: Zyuganov Pledges To Avoid Civil War if Elected**

*LD2105091996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0844 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bryansk, May 21 (Interfax) — Russian Communist Party leader and presidential candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov guarantees to spare Russia of a civil war if he wins next month's presidential polls.

"Our main task today is to stop the war in Chechnya and immediately do all we can to end the bloodshed," Zyuganov said in an interview with Interfax today in Bryansk, a regional center south of Moscow he visited as part of his election campaign.

By his side in Bryansk were his election campaign confidant, cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya, and noted Russian artists Anatoliy Kuznetsov and Mikhail Nozhkin.

Zyuganov laid flowers at a monument to Lenin.

Apart from meetings with voters in Bryansk, the Communist leader is to have talks with company managers, bankers and businessmen. He is expected back in Moscow tomorrow.

**Russia: Problems Faced by Zyuganov During Campaign Tour Described**

*LD2005155896 Moscow NTV in Russian 1700 GMT 19 May 96*

[Video report from the "Itogi" program; passages with quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent, over video of Nizhniy Novgorod, Zyuganov talking to delegation] In Nizhniy Novgorod, Gennadiy Zyuganov just could not manage to reply to specific questions put by Governor Boris Nemtsov.

[Nemtsov] "So who will go into your government, then?

[Zyuganov] This is all premature.

[Nemtsov] But at least you know who will be in the government?

[Zyuganov] I have my suggestions, of course.

[Nemtsov] Can you tell us what they are?

[Zyuganov] That would be premature."

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[Correspondent] Gennadiy Zyuganov explained that his indecision was due to the fact that negotiations had not been completed with the third force, for which, he said, he had reserved a number of posts in the future cabinet. However, the representatives of this third force will probably have to join the national-patriotic bloc if they want to count on a portfolio. In any case, speaking about the future government at a meeting in Kirov, the communist leader let one cat out of the bag.

[Zyuganov, shown addressing meeting] "The government will be from the bloc, it will be a coalition government, a multi-party one."

[Correspondent, over video of Zyuganov addressing another meeting] Many people explain Zyuganov's reticence about his intentions in the economic sector as being due to the weakness of his influence in his own bloc. [passage omitted] The governors with whom the presidential candidate had a meeting are particularly wary about the extent to which Zyuganov is controlled by his entourage.

[Sverdlovsk Region Governor Eduard Rossel, interviewed in his office] "As the leader of the communist movement, the party, he is a hostage, he can be turned whichever way is needed. Behind him there will be people who will be thirsting for power.

[Nemtsov, talking to Zyuganov and delegation] The people who are in your party — perhaps not in Moscow, but in the regions — are as a rule failures, hangers-on, people who will wreak vengeance. You may be a good man, but those around you are people like that. I very much fear that for the country, your advent [to power] is a huge calamity — though you yourself may well be a good man. That is why all those who have gathered here on this side will not vote for you."

[Correspondent] At the same time, Nemtsov suggested that Zyuganov had already exhausted his possibilities and would not be able to attract to his side more that 30 percent of votes. The candidate's entourage seems to have taken this forecast seriously. On the election campaign trip, the pressure on the accompanying journalists was stepped up with every day that passed. As a rule, communists are not inclined to accuse themselves of failure. In some places, the bodyguards — who are under the direction of Zyuganov's right hand, Aleksandr Tarnayev, who understands the way the special services work — openly put reporters under organized observation.

The candidate himself constantly took umbrage at the NTV Television company. What displeased Zyuganov most of all was that a dispatch about Zyuganov's visit to Diveyevskiy nunnery included the history of the nunnery — the correspondent following Zyuganov's own behest not to forget Soviet history — and the fact that in the 1920's the Bolsheviks shot and imprisoned the nuns and then destroyed the convent.

[Zyuganov] "They broadcast that the communists persecuted and shot — and so on and so forth, blah, blah. Well, I went to Germany, nobody said that during the war the Germans — and so on and so forth, blah, blah, blah."

[Correspondent, over video of factory gates] Immediately after Zyuganov got back to Moscow, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] leadership convened the last closed central committee plenum before the elections. Journalists were banned from entering the compound of the factory where the conference was being held. The communists' election campaign really does seem to be starting to spin on the spot. The shorthand report of the plenum we have acquired confirms this. The CPRF top bosses are clearly dissatisfied with the results of the canvassing. A delegate from the Urals pointed to the gigantic advantages that Zyuganov's opponent enjoys. He stated that at this moment in time the initiative has shifted to the hands of President Yeltsin. The party activists recommended that part of the load be lifted from candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov, who is gradually starting to run out of steam repeating the same thing over and over again. At the same time, they advised their leader to speak more toughly. The secretary of the Samara central committee recommended that people should be told the truth: that if they won, the communists would not give the people — I quote — anything.

Summing up what his colleagues had said, Leonid Petrovskiy, chairman of the central control and audit commission, concluded that what he said had been a relatively democratic period of the fight for power had come to an end. He advised using State Duma resources to organize a certain exacerbation of the situation.

Valentin Kuptsov, who was chairing the plenum, reported that the communists were lagging behind in the popularity ratings in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, Khabarovsk, and other major cities. Should they lose, the party activists have already charted out specific actions. Speakers said that in regions where there are democratically oriented leaders in power, sabotage should be organized, and the elections should be sorted out right down to the level of local self-government. To judge from the information available, the fears and descriptions by the governors of Nizhniy Novgorod and Yekaterinburg regarding Zyuganov's entourage are very close to reality.

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**Russia: Poll Shows 'Comparative Strengthening' in Yeltsin's Rating**

*LD2005142596 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1210 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] We would like to show you the latest opinion poll results obtained by the Institute of Sociology and Parliamentarism. The data provide a clear picture of trends in public opinion as of 10 May. The poll was conducted among 6,000 people in 62 constituent parts of the Russian Federation, including Moscow and St. Petersburg. The poll covered approximately 250 Russian towns and villages. Here is Nukzar Betaneli, director of the Institute of Sociology and Parliamentarism:

[Betaneli] One can notice that the dynamics of political preferences reflect a comparative strengthening of Yeltsin's election potential. This is a very interesting phenomenon, since Yeltsin has managed to increase his rating from 8 percent of the electorate in early March to 19 percent of the electorate on 10 May. The number of Zyuganov's supporters has settled: it stood at 24 percent in early March and it now stands at 26 percent. As for the other candidates, their ratings are slightly lagging behind those of the election race leaders. Nevertheless, their ratings are quite stable. But whatever we say, the figures show the percentage of the respondents and not of those who will actually go to the polling stations. Therefore, the main task is to figure out the profile of the actual electorate and the balance of preferences among those who will go to the polling stations. From the point of view of a sociological and psychological forecast, we can say that Zyuganov might get up to 42 percent of the vote on 16 June 1996. But only a week ago he had 45 percent. In his turn, Yeltsin might get up to 27 percent of the vote in June. He has slightly improved his rating, since only a week ago he had 25 percent. In other words, we are dealing with a process, with ratings in a state of flux. As for the other candidates, our forecast of 10 May shows that Zhirinovskiy might get 7 percent; Lebed, 8 percent; Fedorov, 3 percent; and Yavlinskiy, 10 percent. If you like our ratings, you must cast your vote on 16 June because that is the only way our ratings will come true. If you do not like our ratings, all the more so, you must cast your vote on 16 June because otherwise our forecast will come true.

**Russia: Turnaround in Yeltsin Showings in Polls Examined**

*MM2005141496 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (DOM I OTECHESTVO Supplement) in Russian 18-24 May 96 p i*

[Article by observer Tamara Zamyatina: "President Now in the Lead"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to public opinion findings, with a month left before the elections, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's popularity rating has gone ahead of that of CPRF leader Gennadiy Zyuganov for the first time this year. This fact has been simultaneously recorded by two polling services — the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion and the Russian Public Opinion and Market Research Institute. According to the All-Russia Center's findings, 38 percent of people are ready to vote for Yeltsin today, and this marks a crucial swing in favor of the head of state.

When I asked what accounted for today's mounting ratings for Yeltsin, who back in January enjoyed only 8 percent of support from potential voters, the All-Russia Center's director, Yuriy Levada, gave a disarmingly simple answer: "The Yeltsin phenomenon itself. The point is that the president virtually did not appear in public after he experienced his last attack of ischemia in the fall, confining his work schedule to official meetings in the Kremlin. Since 15 February, when he announced in his home city of Yekaterinburg that he would be running in the election campaign, observers have not ceased to marvel at his vim and vigor. Since then he has traveled to a dozen cities and held the G-7 meeting in Moscow. He has visited Norway, China, the Far East, and the central zone and the south of Russia. And he intends to visit Chechnya shortly.

"Boris Yeltsin's current rating is an indicator of the Russians' traditional preference for the current ruler, particularly when he is in good shape. Pollsters describe this section of the electorate 'the deferential voter.'"

It is a paradox, given Yeltsin's growing popularity, that the voters are showing a very critical attitude toward the initiatives taken by the president to solve pressing problems. A poll by the Vox Populi public opinion service shows that the majority of respondents regard the Russian Federation president's initiatives such as clearing wages and pensions arrears, stepping up the fight against crime and corruption, and solving the Chechen conflict as "of little or no success."

What, then, do voters put down on Boris Yeltsin's credit side? According to the All-Russia Center's figures, in response to the question "If you think Boris Yeltsin will win the June elections, why do you think so?"

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53 percent of respondents said that Yeltsin's victory is inevitable because of his great political experience and the enormous power concentrated in his hands; 13 percent thought that people's need for stability, a predictable future, and their interest in continuing the reforms already begun will lead to Yeltsin's victory.

Yeltsin is demonstrating an indomitable will to win nowadays. Zyuganov looks somewhat pallid, having made a couple of unforgivable blunders during his campaign. Yeltsin has also come under fire from the press for "unparliamentary" remarks, which he no longer practices. However, Zyuganov's statement at a rally held 9 May where he hypothetically compared the Communists' victory in the elections with victory over fascism objectively ranks him among the extremists, despite the Communist leader's desire to appear a European-style politician.

**Russia: Central Electoral Commission Details Campaign Violations**

*MM2005143796 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts: "Election Campaign and the Law. Central Electoral Commission Chairman Surprised by Law Enforcement Organs' Infantility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 16 May the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission spent two hours discussing just one of nine questions on the agenda. Such a hectic schedule can be attributed to the topicality of the subject under discussion. The Central Electoral Commission was considering the question of the observance of the procedure and rules prescribed by law for conducting election campaigning during preparations for the Russian presidential election. Central Electoral Commission member Raif Biktagirov provided information on this subject.

Noting that the Central Electoral Commission had set up a special group to monitor the observance of election campaigning rules in the electronic and printed mass media, Raif Terentyevich regretfully stated an obvious fact: Many signals regarding violations of election campaigning rules are being received. The most typical of them: Campaigning actually started before the official registration of candidates for the highest state post, presidential candidates who are simultaneously parliamentary deputies have taken advantage of additional opportunities to obtain air time, and, of course, the use of hidden propaganda.

As of today the monitoring group has established jointly with the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes that serious claims can be made against the newspapers RUSSKIYE VEDOMOSTI [Russian Gazette], PRAVDA ROSSII, STAVROPOLKSKAYA PRAVDA [Stavropol Pravda], SOVESTSKAYA ROSSIYA, and PRAVDA. Moreover, the violations were committed, using the current phraseology, by both supporters of the democratic wing and the national patriots. In a number of regions (Altay, Buryatia, Voronezh) local television, which gave some candidates television airtime before the official beginning of the election campaigning, "distinguished itself."

Cases of producing election "propaganda" and campaign leaflets without so-called publication data — that is to say, they have effectively been produced underground — have also been recorded. Something like this occurred in Sakhalin Oblast, where a large quantity of leaflets favoring a candidate was produced.

The Central Electoral Commission is particularly alarmed by the fact that in their campaign material presidential candidates or people engaged in propaganda and agitation for a particular candidate are frequently descending into insulting attacks, violating ethical norms, allowing unverified or information known to be false to be printed, and stirring up ethnic strife. Such instances, the Central Electoral Commission believes, cannot be tolerated. In a unanimous decision the Central Electoral Commission pronounced its verdict: First — local electoral commissions are to more actively use all available rights to monitor the observance of election campaigning rules, and second — all presidential candidates are to be warned of the possible withdrawal of their candidature in the event of a repetition of such violations.

On the whole the discussion showed that unfortunately we still have an awful lot of loopholes allowing electoral legislation violations. At times supporters of particular candidates cunningly take advantage of this. For the time being the Central Electoral Commission, which does not have the necessary legal powers, can only record these violations and threaten to refer them to the prosecutor's office. Possibly this is why the Central Electoral Commission chairman expressed himself fairly frankly: What more do the law enforcement organs need in order to collar the lawbreakers. "I am surprised by the infantility of this question," Nikolay Ryabov stressed.

In conclusion it should be noted that the Central Electoral Commission has so far just taken the first step in the struggle for purity and legality in election campaigning. The decree adopted schedules discussion of this same question in one and a half weeks.

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**Russia: Shumeyko Says Postponement of Elections 'Impossible'**

*LD2005131196 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Nataliya Panshina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — The postponement of the presidential elections in Russia is now impossible, but "it is necessary to make Boris Yeltsin win them."

This view was expressed at a press conference here today by Vladimir Shumeyko, leader of the "Reforms — New Course" movement.

Two years ago, when Shumeyko was speaker of the upper house of the Russian parliament, he moved to adopt a law on the postponement of the elections by democratic means. Today, in his opinion, there are no "legal grounds" for changing the date of the elections, which was fixed by the upper house of the parliament. "In accordance with the law, the elections must be held," he summed up, "but we must help Boris Yeltsin win them."

Shumeyko believes that Yeltsin is the only "capable national leader" as distinct from Gennadiy Zyuganov, who is "unable to do anything good for the country."

President Yeltsin's election to a second term, Shumeyko said, will allow the "Reforms — New Course" movement to resolve also its strategic tasks.

**Russia: CPRF Plenum Issues Appeal To Work for 'Common Victory'**

*MM2105092996 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

["Appeal of Sixth Communist Party of the Russian Federation Central Committee Plenum to Communists and Our Comrades in Arms" adopted 18 May at plenum in Moscow]

[FBIS Translated Text] Comrades! Friends! Russia is living through a dramatic period. Its fate and the fate of everyone living on Russian soil will be decided in a month's time. The people expect the country to be headed by a genuine patriot, a spokesman for its interests, an advocate of a strong state, and a person with a clear intellect and a pure conscience as a result of the 16 June 1996 presidential elections. Tormented by pseudoreforms and reduced to desperation, they are looking to the Communists and the entire people's patriotic bloc, which has put forward Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov as its Russian presidential candidate.

Victory for the people's patriotic forces would ultimately mean victory for all strata of society, even those that perhaps still do not realize this today. It is the sacred duty of every Communist and patriot of Russia to convince them of the need to replace the current regime without fail and the need for a radical turnaround in the prevailing situation. From house to house, from person to person, we will take the truth about our presidential candidate's program and rebuff the fantasies about future famine, repressions, and civil war in the event of victory by the candidate of people's patriotic forces.

The closer we get to the elections, the more severe the orgy of lies and slander will be. Sordid accusations will be hurled against us, we will be the target of provocations and maybe intimidation and moral and physical persecution. But we must march with head held high since we are bringing people the truth and summoning them to light, good, and social justice.

The truth is on our side. In the face of history and the expectations of the suffering people we must triumph.

So let us do everything for our common victory!

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**CIS: Heads of State Summit Proceedings Detailed**

*MM2005153896 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 May 96 Saturday Edition p 7*

[Unattributed report: "Three Principles of Strengthening Integration Formulated by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin at the Latest Sitting of the Council of CIS Heads of State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A routine sitting of the CIS Heads of State Council was held yesterday. It started as a small group meeting, and ended as a plenary sitting. The meeting took the form of a lively exchange of opinions and a discussion of the question of the prospects of integration processes in the CIS countries. There was also a detailed discussion about the recently created Community of the Two States and the treaty signed by four countries — Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Russia.

It should be noted that the different rates in the processes of integration between states reflect the objective development and interest of individual states in the more rapid unification of forces in various spheres. This is a normal phenomenon. It was no accident that it did not generate any questions among the heads of state who had assembled in Moscow; they all received with understanding and interest information about what the representatives of the bilateral and quadrilateral agreements intend to do, since neither the former nor the latter goes against any of the common plans or disrupts the unity of the whole Commonwealth. Addressing the meeting, President Boris Yeltsin determined three basic principles in strengthening integration within the framework of the CIS. First of all, the president said, this means preserving the sovereignty of the CIS states. Second, it means a lack of aloofness, and the fundamentally open nature of the Commonwealth's core of integration. And third, it means flexibility in forming administrative structures.

Among specific tasks in developing cooperation, the Russian head of state named the creation of a common scientific and technological information area, the expansion of the customs union, and the creation of payments and currency unions.

The participants in the summit discussed and adopted a decision on all the nine questions on the agenda outlined earlier.

The question of adopting a joint Statement on Nagorno-Karabakh was an additional item on it. A decision on this was adopted at the closed sitting of the CIS Heads of State Council which preceded the plenary sitting.

The summit's main agenda included the following points: a joint Statement in Support of the Democratic Processes in Russia; a long-term plan for the integration development of CIS states in 1996- 1997; an interstate program of joint measures for combating organized crime and other types of dangerous crime on the territory of the CIS in the period up to the year 2000; the statute on the Council of CIS States' Ministers of Internal Affairs; the presence of collective peacekeeping forces in Abkhazia; the agreement on questions connected with the restoration of the rights of deported people and ethnic minorities and peoples; the agreement on interaction between the border troops of CIS states in the event of crisis situations on external borders; and the rules of procedure of the CIS Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government.

The ninth point on the agenda notably involved a discussion of questions of the preparation and realization of events connected with the centenary of the birth of Marshal Zhukov, and the procedure for awarding the "300 Years of the Russian Navy" anniversary medals to citizens of CIS states.

In the general opinion of the participants in the press conference which took place after the sitting, the main result of their meeting was unanimous support for Boris Yeltsin's candidacy at the upcoming presidential election in Russia. In this connection, the heads of CIS states adopted the Statement on Support for Democratic Processes in Russia.

All 11 heads participating in the CIS summit with the exception of Boris Yeltsin expressed their opinion on this statement within the framework of the debate.

The shortest but perhaps the clearest speech was made by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia, who was able to express the main idea of the participants in the summit in a few words. The statement being adopted, L. Ter-Petrosyan stated, is "a natural reaction to the threat contained in the Russian State Duma resolution on the denunciation of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreements." And he stressed: "I am grateful to the Communists for warning us of what awaits us if they come to power."

From what he said, we have no choice but to support the current Russian democratic leadership. The Commonwealth has unified around democratic Russia, but we would never unify around a Communist Russia. From what the Armenian president said, the Communists' victory in the elections in Russia would lead to the breakup of the CIS. "A Communist Russia would not be traveling the same path as us" — the Armenian leader stressed.

President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine, who spoke during the debate, stressed that Russia was one of the first

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among the republics of the former USSR to start the process of democratic transformations, and stability in the entire post-Soviet area will depend on how these are continued. Changes in Russia would lead to changes in all the CIS countries, and Ukraine hopes, Leonid Kuchma stressed, that the reforms started in Russia will be continued under the leadership of their initiator — President Boris Yeltsin.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan for his part emphasized that the processes taking place in Russia will affect not only Russia itself, and not only the neighboring CIS countries, but the entire world community. "Our path is not easy, but it must be traveled, as there is no road back," Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed. "Those who are calling us back into the radiant past will lead us to collapse and to the breakup of the Commonwealth. Russia has always been our leader, and we pin our hopes on the recovery of the Russian economy. We are terrified to think that the Russian people would allow themselves to be carried away by nostalgia for the past. We must ensure that the light at the end of the tunnel, which has only just started to glimmer, shines more brightly."

Answering a question about the date of his official visit to Ukraine, Boris Yeltsin stated that he will not go there until a full-scale bilateral political treaty is ready for signing. The only outstanding question is the Black Sea Fleet. However, as the Russian president noted, he may "manage to reach agreement once and for all with Leonid Danilovich Kuchma."

Establishing the mandate of the Collective Peacekeeping Forces in the Conflict Zone in Abkhazia was one of the subjects broached at the meeting of the CIS presidents. According to Eduard Shevardnadze, leader of the Georgian state, the participants in the sitting decided to extend the present mandate by another two months and during that time sort out the issues currently causing differences of opinion between the Russian and Georgian sides as regards the new mandate.

Speaking about ways of settling the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan confirmed his readiness to give this formation "the highest status of autonomy within Azerbaijan, which currently exists in world practice."

The question of the principles of settling the Dniester conflict was not on the agenda at the meeting. Nevertheless, the presidents of Russia and Moldova deemed it necessary to express their stance on this question. In the opinion of Boris Yeltsin, it is necessary to preserve the integrity of this Republic, and the status of the Dniester region should be the subject of direct discussion by Moldova and the Dniester region itself. Mircea Snegur support this point of view, having noted Russia's mediatory role.

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**Russia: Duma Speaker Says CIS Leaders Meddle With Russia's Affairs**

*LD2005171096 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1657 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — State Duma speaker Gennadiy Seleznev described as "intervention in Russia's internal affairs" speeches in support of Boris Yeltsin for a second term as Russian President made by the Presidents of the CIS member-countries at the May 17 Moscow summit.

Seleznev was speaking in the club of the press attaches of the CIS member-countries. His meeting with the club members was organised by the Confederation of the unions of journalists.

According to Seleznev, it is up to Russian citizens to vote in the presidential elections and not up to the Presidents of the member-countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Seleznev stressed that support of this kind could produce a reverse effect. He said the all-out support of only one contestant of the presidency was tantamount to "information violence with regard to society."

In addition, Gennadiy Seleznev noted that six other contestants of Russia's highest office were members of the State Duma lower house of parliament which decided on the ratification of agreements between Russia and other CIS member-countries.

Seleznev declared that the State Duma, six of whose members were running in the presidential elections, would continue to work intensively and would not put out a note saying "everyone has left for the election front."

The lower house of the Federal Assembly will be working on a number of major draft acts, including the Federal Budget for 1997 and the country's Land and Tax Codes.

The house intends to pass laws on the government and the transfer of power before its summer recession, Seleznev said. He rejected all charges of indolence levelled at the State Duma and recalled that it passed more than 70 documents in four months.

Along with this, he said that new draft laws must be prepared not only by parliament members. Up to 80 percent of all draft legal acts must come from the President and the government.

Seleznev described as "populist" the Russian President's Decree on the introduction of the army service under contract from the year 2000 and prior to the adoption of the country's military doctrine.

He stressed that he was distraught by the very fact of the development of a "rule by decree" in the country. He added that the President's decrees were adopted not to replace laws but to "bridge gaps of all kinds that exist in current legislation."

**Russia: Official Confirms Russia's Adherence to Weapons Treaties**

*LD2005152796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1444 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Gennadiy Temnenkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — Russia adheres to its commitments in the disarmament area, including arms reductions, and in some cases, as regards for instance chemical weapons, their elimination.

Sergey Kislyak, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry department for security and disarmament, said this on Monday. He addressed an international conference on the elimination of nuclear, chemical and conventional armaments, under way near Bonn.

Large-scale measures for the reduction of conventional forces in Europe were taken in Russia within five years that have passed since the signing of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty.

These measures were implemented in difficult conditions. What is more, they coincided with the operations for the withdrawal of forces from Baltic countries, states of Eastern Europe, and Germany and their redeployment in Russia. Still Russia fulfilled in full volume and within the established timeframe its obligations for the reduction of military equipment under the treaty. Russia is ready to fulfill the agreement on the elimination of a large number of tanks, armoured vehicles and artillery systems stationed beyond the Urals, Kislyak said.

Regarding the so-called problem of flanks, the Russian representative said that flanks are mentioned in the treaty, just as limitations on the deployment of equipment on the flanks. Meanwhile, the lines of confrontation between the East and the West which flanks should adjoin exist no longer, he said.

Meanwhile the needs for equipment in regions which are defined as flank regions for Russia should meet new challenges of ensuring stability. Hence, the need for the quest for solutions which would ensure the existence of the necessary forces in these areas for Russia and would thus promote the stability of the very Conventional Forces Treaty.

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Nuclear disarmament is the fundamental component of global security system, Kislyak said. Russia's efforts in the area were aimed, above all, at withdrawing nuclear weapons to its own territory, the prevention of their spread, destruction of nuclear charges and the further strengthening of nuclear security. "All this has been and remains one of top priorities of the Russian state policy," Kislyak said.

Kislyak also called attention of the participants in the conference to the initiative that Russian President Boris Yeltsin made at the nuclear safety summit in Moscow in April. The president suggested that nuclear weapons be withdrawn by all nuclear countries to their own territories. Russia is doing what it suggests that others should do. "Our words are fully in keeping with our deeds. We are concluding the withdrawal of all nuclear ammunition of the former Soviet Union to Russia's territory," Kislyak said.

"I believe this measure is a large contribution to stability by Russia and CIS countries. If all nuclear countries without exception follow suit, global stability will be enhanced," Kislyak said.

**Russia: PRAVDA Calls For Review of START Naval Limits**

*MM2005122096 Moscow PRAVDA-5 in Russian 17-24 May 96 p 3*

[Article by Captain Second Rank Aleksandr Lodkin: "Who Benefits From This?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting of the G-7 and Russia on problems of nuclear safety held recently in Moscow, which the Russian Federation president proudly called the G-8, probably raised more questions than it answered. With the military, of course. Although the press touched only obliquely on problems of nuclear disarmament in its final commentaries on that meeting, it is, believe me, worth paying them far more attention.

The question of ratifying the START II Treaty is on the agenda. The U.S. parliament has ratified it. It is now up to Russia. On the one hand, for well-known reasons it would be easy to ratify it, but on the other hand so many underwater rocks have appeared in its path, particularly in recent years, that the Russian ship of state as a whole could get stuck on underwater reefs unless there is an urgent course correction.

An analysis of the proposals in the treaty, which solemnly ensures equal security through the reduction of strategic offensive arms, raises no objections from the juridical viewpoint. But will this process take place under equal military-strategic, political, and economic conditions?

Under the treaty Russia quite simply changes the entire structure, to put it mildly, of its strategic offensive arms. Moreover, under the terms of the treaty **Russia "copies" the structure of the strategic offensive arms of the United States, which has approximately 50 percent** of its nuclear warheads on nuclear-powered submarines armed with ballistic missiles [SSBN's]. But in Russia at the present time **approximately 30 percent of nuclear warheads are on naval carriers**.

Over the next few years, according to **the START I and START II Treaties, this ratio must increase to 55-58 percent in favor of naval strategic nuclear forces** — which will correspond generally to the structure of U.S. strategic offensive arms. At the same time another problem has come sharply into relief, namely **the problem of the viability of Russia's entire system of strategic offensive arms as a whole** and of the naval component in particular.

As is known from foreign press articles, the numbers of Russia's strategic submarines have fallen by a factor of almost 1.5 times over the past five years. No new strategic guided missile cruisers have been built for almost five years. With funding at the 1994-1995 level, the service life of the strategic missile launch systems will have expired by the beginning of the year 2000, and by then the naval strategic nuclear forces will be left with **no more than 25 percent of their numbers (or seven to 10 strategic missile launch systems) — which will not ensure Russia's fulfillment of the START II Treaty and will give the United States an advantage**.

Nor can we ignore the effective U.S. advantage produced by the high degree of operational use of the naval component of the strategic offensive forces and the fact that its constant high combat readiness is ensured. Thus, 10 U.S. SSBN's are on constant patrol (in so-called nontargeted mode, which can quickly be switched to targeted mode). The Russian Navy cannot afford simultaneous patrolling by so many missile submarines owing to the acute and chronic shortage of operational resources. The majority of our missile submarines **are kept at base facilities, presenting very tempting targets for highly accurate weapons**.

Nor can we overlook the state of the Russian Navy's ASW forces (nuclear- and diesel-powered submarines, ASW aircraft, and ocean-going ASW ships), whose task is to ensure that strategic missile launch systems are able to stand up in combat, because their numbers have fallen in roughly the same proportion as missile submarines over the past five years.

On the other hand, during this same period, despite an insignificant reduction (10-12 percent for nuclear-powered attack submarines), the NATO allied naval

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forces have kept their ASW forces' combat potential at the former level and even increased it as a result of the combat commissioning of the latest vessels. Moreover, as in previous years, a whole squadron of U.S. Navy nuclear submarines equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles patrols constantly in coastal and remote seas on Russia's northern and eastern salients, posing a potential threat to military and economic targets in the CIS countries. Tomahawk cruise missiles are capable of hitting with a high degree of efficiency (as demonstrated when making strikes against Iraqi group and point targets during Operation Desert Storm) not only stationary targets within a land grouping but also strategic missile launch systems at base facilities and rear support installations.

Altogether the Americans possess a highly efficient ASW system capable, according to foreign military specialists, of exposing and destroying **up to 40 percent of enemy SSBN's** during the initial period of a war.

Taking into account the sharp reduction in the activities of the Russian Navy's submarine forces (according to a WASHINGTON TIMES report, **Russian submarines "have not appeared off the U.S. coasts" in the past eight years — from 1987 through 1995**), this whole situation is not shaping up in favor of the principle of "equal stability" for U.S. and Russian naval strategic nuclear forces.

In addition, the reconnaissance and surveillance system of the NATO countries' navies is constantly being improved, and considerable funds are channeled into diverse military-technical research in the sphere of creating new submarine weapons systems. Thus, with NATO's eastward expansion and the inclusion of the Baltic states and former "Eastern bloc" states in its sphere of influence, there has been an increase in the intensity of research activity by various foreign companies which hold key positions in the sphere of the development of technologies associated with the marine environment and which openly conduct their research in coastal regions that are operationally important to the Russian Navy. The results of this research — this will come as a revelation to no one — can be used in the interests of ASW forces.

Thus, in an offer to conduct research activity in the Arctic in 1996 the German scientific research ship Polarstern is asking the Russian side for permission to conduct research not only in the exclusive economic zone but also in Russian territorial waters. At the same time a number of pieces of research could be conducted in regions that are important to the operational activities of submarines, including the approaches to the Kola Gulf.

In total over 100 research expeditions involving foreign specialists are planned off Russia's coasts in 1996 — considerably more than in the late eighties.

Thus, with due regard for these circumstances and the prospects for a further reduction in Russia's naval strategic nuclear forces in accordance with the proposed START II Treaty, as well as the problems of ensuring the technical readiness of ballistic missiles for launching (in respect of the cancellation of training sorties), the question of the efficient resolution of the set tasks and of the survivability of the naval component of Russia's strategic offensive forces in the very short term becomes very, very problematic.

At the same time, in the process of fulfilling the terms of the START II Treaty, Russia is actively eliminating the ground and air components of the strategic offensive forces, while the naval components, given the present financial and economic conditions, will "diminish" over a certain time and will become unfit for their purpose. The said factors enable us to raise the question of the qualitative aspect of the nuclear "parity" envisaged in the START II Treaty and to look at the problem of the Russian Federation's state security and sovereignty from a new angle.

Proceeding from the Russian Federation's national security interests and mindful of the considerable advantages which the United States has and to which it will add in the course of implementing the treaty, it appears:

**— necessary to return once again (before it is too late) to the treaty and to carefully analyze and evaluate all the conditions and the possible consequences of its implementation by all the interested organs and establishments working in the sphere of national security;**

**— expedient in this connection to set up a special independent parliamentary commission to analyze the START II Treaty and draw up recommendations relating to it, involving authoritative military experts;**

**— necessary to draw up as a separate package a number of proposals (amendments to the treaty), particularly as the possibility of making amendments is provided for in the actual text of the treaty. These amendments could include articles concerning, for example, a restriction on the activities of ASW forces (including the creation of mutually agreed zones with appropriate technical verification systems, to be kept free from the activities of nuclear-powered submarines); a restriction on the development of ASW systems; a restriction on the number of KRBM's [expansion unknown] or a definition of the levels of their reduction.**

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It was the ancients who used to say that a treaty is good if it is beneficial to everyone. Meanwhile life today shows that the "one-sided principle" operates to a greater degree in respect of the START II Treaty, as in the well-known tale of when the wolf said to a flock of sheep: "Let's come to an agreement: I won't eat your grass, but you will give me your meat."

**Russia: Naval Spokesman Refutes Turkish Claim of Base in Georgia**

*LD2005111596 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0824 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — The Press Centre of the Russian Navy knows nothing about the eventual construction of a Russian naval base on the territory of Georgia, about which the Georgian media was informed by the Turkish Ambassador in Georgia Tevfik Okyayuz .

Itar-Tass was told at the Press Centre of the Russian navy today that reports on the alleged plans to build a base in direct proximity to the Turkish border "are unfounded". Officials of the Press Centre said that the Turkish Ambassador's statement was "puzzling".

"Even in the new conditions, the Black Sea Fleet has enough bases to effectively discharge its tasks," the Naval Press Centre officials stated.

**Russia: Moscow Disapproves of Emergence of Serb Hard-Liners**

*LD2005174696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa, on a working visit to Moscow, today had a meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. We have a report by Croatian TV journalist Zeljko Korpar:

[Korpar] During his one-hour long talks with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Croatian Prime Minister Zlatko Matesa outlined Croatia's views of the peaceful reintegration of the Danubian region and the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prime Minister Matesa told his Russian counterpart about the steps that the Croatian Government was taking to build confidence among the ethnic groups living in the area.

Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin said that Russia was strongly in favor of the peace process [in former Yugoslavia] and that it will continue to build balanced relations with the states in the region.

A part of the talks was devoted to the efforts to stimulate trade, joint ventures in the shipbuilding industry, and investment in the Adriatic oil pipeline.

Croatian Economy Minister Davor Stern and Andrey Shapovalyants, Russian deputy economics minister, signed an agreement on protecting and stimulating investment. The agreement will open doors to companies in both countries and to investment under more favorable terms. The Russian side is pleased that the Adriatic oil pipeline is open including its section through Serbia. Croatia will guarantee a regular and safe flow of oil providing Serbia observes the existing terms. Reference was also made to Russian oil deliveries to Croatia.

Hido Biscevic, Croatian assistant minister of foreign affairs, this morning had talks with his Russian counterpart Nikolay Afanasyevskiy, who expressed Russia's displeasure at the emergence of hard-liners among the Bosnian Serbs.

Prime Minister Matesa and his delegation will end their visit this evening with a meeting with Croatian businessmen in Moscow.

**Russia: Christopher Spells Out 'Wish List' for Post-Election Russia**

*MM2105102096 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 96 p 7*

[Report by Sergey Ivanov: "Christopher's Wish List"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington — U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher decided to set forth his view of the prospects for Russian-U.S. relations after 16 June in an article in TIME magazine. He tried to convince his audience that there will be no return to the "Cold War" even if there is a change of power in Russia, although "the proposals of the Russian Communists, as well as of a number of other parties, give cause for concern." Much will depend on how Russia's new government manages to cope with the difficulties, Christopher writes. The problems are obvious: The economy will prosper only if the market reforms are continued and if there is free competition and open foreign trade, and the war in Chechnya must be halted by political methods.

By setting forth a wish list [programma-maksimum] for Russia Christopher has made it clear, on the whole, what Washington expects of Moscow in the event of a change of emblems in the Kremlin on the eve of its own elections next November.

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**Russia: Primakov Visits to Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba Previewed**

*MM2005151896 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 96 p 3*

[Report by Yevgeniy Bay: "Primakov Off To Rediscover Latin America"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By making his Latin American tour Yevgeniy Primakov is paying off several of his predecessors' old debts at once, their having paid purely formal attention to the distant continent or simply ignored it.

The last visit to Latin American countries was by Eduard Shevardnadze at the height of perestroyka. Andrey Kozyrev intended to go to Latin America on so many occasions and postponed the trip on so many occasions that any mention of a new tour became a joke.

Much work has accumulated and Primakov is having to waltz through it. On Sunday evening he is in Mexico, for talks with President Ernesto Zedillo and his counterpart Jose Angel Gurria, for around 24 hours; then he hops over to Cuba and back again to the continent for a meeting in the Venezuelan capital.

Mexico City is to see the signing of a whole package of mainly economic agreements — on cooperation in space exploration, on energy, on jointly combating the illegal trade in drugs. The latter is particularly topical, since Mexico and Russia are world leaders, not only as recipients of U.S. credits, but also as drug transit points.

In Venezuela Primakov is expected to sign a major treaty of friendship and cooperation. A senior Foreign Ministry representative I spoke with believes that this kind of thing would have been impossible five years ago. Before, the diplomat stressed, our country's actions on Latin America were directed against the United States in one way or another. Now no one in Smolenskaya Square would seriously contemplate teaching the Americans a lesson in their geographical area. The thing now is equal partnership with countries rich in resources. We must establish lasting links with them, the diplomat said, because tomorrow will be too late.

Primakov's visit to Cuba will stand alone somewhat, not only on the map of the itinerary. We do not need to discover Cuba, but if we have problems with any of the three countries, it is with the Cubans. Since the Russian minister is going to be received on the island by practically the entire leadership en masse and individually, it can be assumed that contacts will go beyond the traditional Cuban back-slapping.

The problems are primarily economic. Not long before Primakov's visit the Russian company "Alfa-Eko" announced that it was halting deliveries of oil to Cuba in exchange for Cuban sugar. The Cuban leadership was accused of willfully raising sugar prices without any consultation and also of crude pressure and blackmail. In conversation with IZVESTIYA Aleksandr Fayn, head of "Alfa-Eko," said, with noticeable irritation, that his company "does not intend to pay for Cuban socialism's problems, no matter how much we might respect our Caribbean partners."

Castro certainly has had problems since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but aside from these there is also a deliberate plan. Since 1988, when Moscow stabilized and then started to curtail subsidies to the Cuban regime, not a single agreement has been implemented between our countries fully and on time. There was an endless series of misunderstandings, delays, and, occasionally, overt swindles on the Cubans' part. Moreover, Havana primly pointed out that there was a Russian electronic tracking station on the island and rental had to be paid on it.

Minister Primakov presumably is also well acquainted with this particular sphere of our relations. And, clearly, he agrees that any question of payment for services logically would be viewed in the context of the solution of the problem of Cuba's massive $30 billion debt to Russia.

Meanwhile, despite the abundance of unresolved matters, there are plans in Havana for the signing of just one document — a program of cultural and scientific cooperation. But, as one of the members of the Russian delegation said, the possibility of the adoption of a declaration which, according to him, "would certainly make a noise," is not ruled out.

The visit to Cuba, postponed for so many years, can be deemed a success if Primakov is able above all to persuade the Cuban leaders to be more restrained in the fight for the survival of socialism in a single country.

**Russia: Moscow Mayor in Tajikistan Canvassing Troops for Yeltsin**

*LD2005140296 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 20 May 96*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has arrived in Dushanbe.

This is Luzhkov's first visit to Tajikistan. The Moscow mayor has decided to study the problems of Russian border guards on the Tajik-Afghan border and to provide real help, he told correspondents at Dushanbe airport. Luzhkov made no secret of another reason for his visit.

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[Begin Luzhkov recording] We are all in the midst of election work, the campaign, the election struggle, and we would like to get in touch with our servicemen, too, to ask them for whom they intend to vote, to canvass for Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. That is also our aim, we make no secret of that. [end recording]

On the subject of relations between the Moscow mayor's office and the leadership of Tajikistan, Luzhkov said that the sides had long had useful and beneficial contacts. Luzhkov immediately flew out to the Moscow border detachment, which is sponsored by Russia's capital city. The mayor of Moscow and deputies from the city Duma brought medicines and food for the border guards. [video shows Luzhkov being welcomed at the airport, Russian officers present, airport building, Luzhkov interview]

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## Political Issues

### Russia: Yeltsin Approves Composition of Human Rights Commission

*LD2005190296 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1725 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 May (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin today signed the edict "On the Commission on Human Rights under the President of the Russian Federation," says a report from the presidential press service received by ITAR-TASS. With the aim of stepping up the work of the Commission on Human Rights under the president of the Russian Federation and assisting the Russian Federation in meeting the obligations it undertook when joining the Council of Europe, the president signed an edict approving the following composition of the Commission on Human Rights under the president of the Russian Federation:

The Composition of the Commission on Human Rights under the President of the Russian Federation, approved by an edict of the president of the Russian Federation dated 20 May 1996.

Kartashkin V. A., senior researcher at the State and Law Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, professor, doctor of jurisprudence (commission chairman);

Golubchikova V. D., editor in chief of the SEVERNYYE PROSTORY magazine, head of the international project Information Center for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; Kiva A. V., head of the Sector of Comparative Political Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, doctor of history;

Krylov Sergey Borisovich, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;

Monakhov N. A., defense lawyer at the Moscow City Board of Defense Lawyers, member of the Moscow Helsinki group;

Nuykin Andrey A., writer, co-chairman of the Commonwealth of Writers' Unions;

Slobodskaya M. A., president of the Institute for Civil Society Issues;

Chaldymov N. A., president of the Army and Society Association, academician of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, doctor of philosophy.

### Russia: Yeltsin Appoints Presidential Representative for Saratov Region

*LD2005153496 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1515 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 20 May, ITAR-TASS — Boris Yeltsin today issued an edict appointing Petr Petrovich Kamshilov as plenipotentiary representative of the president of the Russian Federation in Saratov region. This was reported by the Russian president's press service.

### Russia: Seleznev 'Voluntarily' Resigns as Communist Party Secretary

*LD2005170296 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1620 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — Russian State Duma speaker Gennadiy Seleznev told Itar-Tass on Monday he "voluntarily relieved himself of the powers" of secretary of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) Central Committee.

It is not clear yet who will take over.

Seleznev said his leaving the party position cannot be regarded as a resignation as he was dismissed upon his own request. Besides, it does not mean a deviation from the party line, he said.

"I cannot do anything formally, I have no time for public work, so I said that a more active and less busy person should occupy this position," he said.

He added that he had decided to resign also to "avert irrelevant criticism" concerning his position of "public secretary of the CPRF Central Committee."

Besides, he said he resigned as editor of the PRAVDA ROSSIY daily for lack of time to do this job together with working as Duma speaker.

Seleznev denied reports that participants in a CPRF plenary meeting behind closed doors on Sunday discussed an "aggravated situation."

According to him, "no one is brewing anything. On the contrary, (party leader) Gennadiy Zyuganov stressed that it is essential to go on working calmly, even if the nerves were on edge," he said.

The excessive nervousness has been triggered by "continual attacks on the State Duma and the CPRF," he said.

Participants in the plenary meeting were satisfied with Zyuganov's election campaign, he said. As the communists have no money to pay for TV time, they will have

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to apply the man-to-man canvassing method which has stood the test of time and which will hopefully succeed on June 16 as it did during the December State Duma election, he said.

**Russia: Zyuganov Denies Seleznev Removed From Post for Inactivity**

*LD2005162196 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Gennadiy Seleznev, speaker of the state Duma, has been released from the post of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF]. The official report notes this was decided by a committee plenary meeting, because of Selezenev's heavy workload as parliamentary chairman. Meanwhile, INTERFAX, quoting its own sources, reported that the removal of Gennadiy Seleznev from this post was the result of the dissatisfaction of participants in the plenary meeting with the Duma chairman's insufficiently active stance.

In an interview for Moscow Echo, Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Central Committee of the CPRF denied this report:

[Begin Zyuganov recording] He is in state service. He is chairman of the Duma. He is a member of the presidium. The post of secretary is a full-time job, that is the point. The secretary has to deal with specific problems every day. There is nothing out of the ordinary here. Seleznev has been working conscientiously and, in my view, very efficiently. Incidentally, he leads the Duma confidently and keeps strictly to the standing orders. He creates the impression of a [?modern], thinking and well-trained man. [end recording]

**Russia: Kadannikov Views Government Plans To Liberalize Tax System**

*LD2105101996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0943 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 21 (Interfax) — The Russian government plans to substantially liberalize the tax system, Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Kadannikov told Interfax.

Kadannikov heads a commission to improve the tax legislation recently formed in line with the presidential decree.

"The most pressing task now is to get down to the business of production," Kadannikov said.

The draft provides for cancelling taxes and fees on earnings from realization of products and services which do not take into consideration net profit of the taxpayer, he said.

It is also necessary to bring the so called purpose-oriented taxes and fees to a minimum, to cancel taxes if their share in the total volume of incomes is insufficient but their collection costly, for example taxes for highways or operations with securities.

"We shall unite taxes and payments having an identical tax basis," he said. It is not ruled out that resource taxes, the tax for sale for lubricants and the excise for engine fuel, will be the first to be united. The government plans to simultaneously introduce a single payment to all state suprabudget social funds. "This will simplify accounts and control over them," Kadannikov said.

One part of these proposals, he said, was reflected in the general part of the Tax Code, the other part is supposed to be implemented through decisions of the government and president.

In order to strengthen budgets of Russia's territories, a minimum will be declared of the proceeds from each type of tax which must go to local government.

As of January 1, 1997, Kadannikov said, an easy payment plan will be introduced for taxpayers who maintain a good tax record. If an enterprise has no current debt on taxes, if it keeps sales records according to invoices, makes do without barter operations and emission of securities to bearer, then advance payments will be cancelled for it and a single payment of all taxes no more than once a month will be introduced for it. Kadannikov said.

## Military Issues

**Russia: Grachev: Yeltsin Edicts 'Good' But 'Difficult To Implement'**

*LD2005195796 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 20 May 96*

[Video report of interview with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev by correspondents Ivan Volonikhin, Dmitriy Serpukhin; place and date not given; from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Moscow today the Russian military leadership, after three days of silence, came out in support of the edict by President Yeltsin on the transfer from military call-up to a professional army.

Over these three days, it was mooted that President Yeltsin, through this edict, may acquire the votes of recruits and their parents, but evoke dissatisfaction in the army. However, it became clear today that the president's new step was crowned with success.

[Unidentified correspondent] Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said today he did not intend to discuss or to

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cast any doubts upon the need for the latest edicts by President Yeltsin on the transfer of the armed forces to a professional basis by the year 2000 and on the procedure for the dispatch of servicemen on national service to carry out their service in armed combat conditions.

[Begin Grachev recording] What is there for us to comment upon? We are military people. For us an edict is an order. We have agreed to implement it and we will implement it as laid down in these edicts. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Grachev said that the president's decision to reform the army was not completely unexpected by the leadership of the Ministry of Defense.

[Begin recording] [Grachev] We accepted these edicts calmly. I knew about these edicts, do you see? These edicts are very good ones. They are very promising, but I will say outright they are difficult to implement. [end recording]

[Correspondent] What will become of the new recruits who are in Chechnya already?

[Grachev] They will serve there. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Thus, national service recruits who are already in hot spots may choose only how they fulfill their sacred duty in Chechnya or Tajikistan: for the usual pay or for a sum determined by contract. Only future recruits will have the right to choose where they serve — in a hot spot or a peaceful region.

Grachev noted that in any event, to implement the president's edicts the number and financing of contract soldiers had to be almost doubled. [video shows interview with Grachev in open air outside central house of the Russian army]

**Russia: Grachev Plans Stages To Set Up Professional Army**

*LD2005180996 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 May 96*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Pavel Grachev today expressed his point of view of the president's edict on military service, in which mention is made of the transfer to the contract system and also of the dispatch of servicemen on national service to areas of conflict to take part in combat actions.

[Begin Grachev recording] The president's edict is worded in a pretty thorough way and it is timely. The fact is, the transfer to this service just by the year 2000 requires that we prepare Russia's economic infrastructure. Otherwise, of course, this transfer is not realistic. But we military men well understand that it has to be done. We are dreaming of Russia's army being professional, although this will be very, very hard to do. Today I had a conference and we are now drafting proposals for the government so that the stages of preparation of our army for professional service can be defined. [end recording] [video shows Grachev interviewed]

**Russia: General Gromov Praises Yeltsin's Military Decrees**

*LD2005123596 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 May 96*

[Interview With General Boris Gromov by Nikolay Svanidze at the Russian Television Network Studio in Moscow on the "Zerkalo" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Svanidze] Possibly the main event of the week was the president's signing of two decrees that radically reform the Russian Army. General Boris Gromov is in the "Zerkalo" studio.

Boris Vsevolodovich, what is your assessment of these two presidential decrees on the Army?

[Gromov] You know, I should say that these decrees were not unexpected. At least, I expected them and I regard them very highly.

[Svanidze] We can guess how they will be received by young people. We can also guess how they will be received by the mothers of today's young boys who will not be called up and will be able to make their own choice. But how do the generals see it? I get the impression that none of the generals want to give these decrees a cool reception. What is going on?

[Gromov] You know, it is difficult for me to say how the generals as a whole will view these decrees. They include a large number of people who know their business, that is, practical and professional people, they are all professionals in theory. I do not know what is holding them back, as you say, from voicing their opinions. What I do know is that a huge number of officers and commanders — the men who command on the battlefield, there is a huge number of these commanders — will say and have long been saying that it is better for them to have subordinates who are...

[Svanidze, interrupting] Professionals, not boys.

[Gromov] Right, not 18- and 19-year-old boys, but people who are properly trained.

[Svanidze] What about the second decree, Boris Vsevolodovich, about only professional soldiers serving in trouble spots? How do you assess that one?

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[Gromov] I think this decree also dots a lot of i's. Because a decree stating that men can be sent to trouble spots and combat zones only on a voluntary basis and under contract in theory says it all. It means fewer losses, it means better-trained troops, it means fewer mothers' tears. There is a clause in the decree that orders the drawing up of a list of units that should take part in such fighting or be in conflict zones. Up to now we did not really know who went to war. People come to me...

[Svanidze, interrupting] You mean which war?

[Gromov] The Great Patriotic War. Sometimes people cannot find a trace of the unit in which they fought. And this is important in life, especially now. It can mean concessions and much more besides. But now, under this decree there will be a list of units. Most importantly, this will stop certain big bosses just grabbing any old unit in a particular place and packing it off to Chechnya or wherever else.

[Svanidze] So you think that these decrees are a step toward a more combat-ready army?

[Gromov] I think it is hard to exaggerate them — in my opinion, it is hard to exaggerate the significance of these decrees. I think they are very good and I do not understand those people who say they are simply a campaign gimmick by the president. I do not agree with that at all. I think it is not just to use defense and people's lives for an election campaign.

[Svanidze] Thank you, Boris Vsevolodovich. That was General Boris Gromov in the "Zerkalo" studio to discuss the decrees on reforming the Army. The Russian Army used to be professional, when men served 25-year engagements. It was a burdensome duty, a form of serfdom. But Russia in all its thousand years of existence has never had a voluntary army. Russia can enter the new millennium with a new army, made up of those who want to serve. All the best.

**Russia: Article Welcomes Yeltsin Moves Toward All-Volunteer Army**

*MM2005085496 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 96 p 1*

[Article by Sergey Ptichkin: "Forced March to 21st Century. Russian Army To Be Fully Professional as of Year 2000"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The edicts signed by the Russian Federation president are undoubtedly in the interests of many of our fellow citizens. Regulation of the procedure for sending drafted servicemen to carry out missions under armed conflict conditions was long overdue. Commanders will now have to take account of the men's desire to serve in hot spots. In particular, an only son is legally entitled to refuse to take part in combat operations. But the men are often unaware of all their rights, and those who should be aware "forget" to remind them.

Edict No. 723 of 16 May 1996 sorts everything out and makes it impossible for any officer to "forget" anything. We were told by the General Staff that henceforth when drafted servicemen are sent to armed conflict regions it will be mandatory for them to have concluded a contract, and before they sign it each serviceman will have been familiarized with all his rights and obligations, including to the right to legitimately refuse to take part in peacekeeping activity.

Edict No. 722 of 16 May 1996 brings to an end the long-standing disputes about what kind of Army we should have in Russia. As of spring in the year 2000 the Armed Forces and other troops will be manned exclusively by volunteer contract servicemen. Admittedly, before the end of this year the Russian Federation Government will have to resolve a huge number of complex tasks in actually implementing this edict.

But we can be in no doubt that all organizational and legal matters will be resolved and that Russia will enter the third millennium with mobile, well-equipped, and highly professional Armed Forces of the optimum size.

**Russia: Military, Others Cited on Yeltsin Edict Ending Draft**

*MM2005121696 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 May 96 pp 1-2*

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Professional Army Stronger Than Any; President Yeltsin Has Given Start to Military Reform"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian president's edict "on the transition to the staffing of private and sergeant posts in the Armed Forces and other Russian Federation troops on a professional basis," which repeals the draft for military service as of 2000 and introduces staffing for the army and navy and other paramilitary formations by volunteers under contract, has given rise to a big response in Russian society including among the top command personnel. Many of my interlocutors in the General Staff the staffs of the branches of the armed forces fully approved this document.

Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces:

"I welcome the presidential edict. But it can be fulfilled only on condition that the troops receive the necessary funds for the purpose. It is also important that a favorably inclined atmosphere toward its army be created in

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society. Otherwise the commanders will not manage to select worthy candidates and we shall have to take everyone merely because otherwise there will be no one to serve."

Admiral Igor Khmelnov, chief of General Staff of the Russian Navy:

"We must move toward a professional standard of training for seamen and petty officers as rapidly as possible. It is true that we have made this attempt once already but it proved a failure. The conditions for it did not exist. They must be created, people must be selected, and we must achieve a new quality of service."

Colonel General Aleksandr Chindarov, deputy commander in chief of the Airborne Forces:

"The chief's order is law for his subordinates. If the necessary funds are earmarked we shall not lose out but only gain from professional servicemen."

At the same time many of my interlocutors from the Defense Ministry said that the president's edict on the repeal of the draft for military service was a bolt from the blue for them. The Defense Ministry did not prepare the draft of this edict and people here do not know its provenance. Although everyone stresses that this is a very powerful election ploy on the part of Boris Yeltsin as a candidate for a second term as president. Behind this step by the incumbent president is seen his persistent desire somehow to begin and implement the long-promised reform of the army and to make this task a priority avenue of his future rule as president. But he wants to make a start to it now, assuming commitments of colossal design and revolutionary consequences to electors.

To abandon the draft and switch the entire army to a professional basis is for our country a truly revolutionary task which will require primarily the solution not of narrow army tasks but the restructuring of the entire economy, a drastic increase in the effectiveness of the state's financial system and the creation of real opportunities which would indeed not only help to quell anti-army passions in society but, most importantly, would create conditions for the transition of the army and navy to a professional basis. We will not manage with the money which the armed forces receive today. Irrespective of the numerical strength of the Russian Army whether it is to be 300,000 or 0.5 million.

The maintenance of one Russian soldier today costs $121,000 a year (the army alone has 1.7 million men and about 2 million in other structures). A Chinese soldier costs his government $50,000 (the army's numerical strength is 2.93 million), a French soldier costs $107,000 (there are 410,000 of them), a German soldier costs $96,000 (there are 250,000 troops), while an American soldier costs $176,000 (the army and navy have 1.62 men). And these are expenses not only on food, uniforms, and barracks, heating in the soldier's home, and electricity, for which, incidentally, our army has not paid for a long time, but also on salaries for the servicemen, medical services, payment for fuel for military shipments, and the payment of pensions.

The salary for a contract private or sergeant is four times more than for a draftee and is 400,000-450,000 rubles [R] a month. The salary for an officer between the ranks of lieutenant and colonel is R800,000 to R1.5 million. Of course for people in closed cities or where all the plants and factories are situated these sums are quite good money. But in the army you cannot work an eight-hour day and then go your separate ways, the army requires a man for the full 24 hours a day and imposes on him tremendous disciplinary and criminal liability and sends him into battle as well. That is from far to everyone's taste.

Major Dmitriy Pronin, chief of a department of the Moscow Oblast military commissariat, said that the reason lies in insufficient financing. The unit commander must provide housing for the new contract serviceman but locally that is not always possible — the officers' hostels are already over-full. It is mainly the unemployed who are becoming contract servicemen — the wages of a private in a trouble spot are nearly R800,000.

The border guards have already decided the problem of contract servicemen. According to Sergey Ivanchenko, a colonel from the information agency, despite the curtailed budget servicemen are serving exclusively under contract in Tajikistan and the Special Caucasus Border District.

Of the 0.5 million men who have joined the army since the introduction of the institution of the contract servicemen barely 230,000 are left today. But the commanders are not very happy with even this contingent and primarily with their moral and professional qualities. Although to be fair it must be noted that so far the professional instruction of soldiers and sergeants serving under contract in the army and navy is being treated with as much indifference as the training of draftees. Some 73 dead and 52 wounded soldiers and sergeants from the 254th regiment shot in a gorge near the Chechen settlement of Yaryshmary were contract servicemen. But as Lieutenant General Lev Rokhlin, chairman of the Duma Defense Committee, attested, they were very badly trained.

The training of these men and their combat training, material and technical provision (the repair of combat equipment, the delivery of the equipment itself and of weapons and of ammunition and fuel and lubricants) and

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other things are particularly expensive. Not to mention housing for these people's families (in the army today, according to official statistics alone, there are 120,000 "homeless" officers), kindergartens and schools for their children, and work for their wives. The generals say that if all this is be provided and there will be no question of selecting people for the professional army.

But apart from socioeconomic problems there is also a mass of legal problems. Before the year 2000 amendments must be made to the Russian Constitution, the law "on military service obligation and military service" which implies the mixed principle for staffing the armed forces and also to a number of other documents. Aleksandr Dzasokhov, member of the State Duma committee for international affairs, told our correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo that "this is undoubtedly somewhere the Duma should work. It is desirable that the president should put forward this decision in the form of a legislative initiative, not an edict. But in this case the positions of the State Duma and the president could largely coincide."

State Duma Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Shokhin told our correspondent Igor Vendenko:

"As a whole I approve the idea of switching the Russian army to service under contract. It is essential to begin right now gradually to even out the percentage of the compulsory draft and the recruits under contract. And here there could be great difficulties since the Defense Ministry is constantly speaking of the shortage of soldiers and will of course oppose a reduction in the compulsory draft. But I repeat, this must be done. Comprehensively and gradually."

At the same time Boris Yeltsin's political opponents immediately went into the attack against his edict.

Our correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo reports that State Duma Speaker Gennadiy Seleznev has stated:

"As regards contract service kit is proposed to vote in the Duma today for an appeal to the president that what it calls populist measures like the introduction of such chaotic feelings into the power structures not be used in the election campaign. I can imagine what will start to happen now. Those who are not serving under contract will run away form the army and demand immediate mobilization. And when we shall recruit contract servicemen is hard to say."

General Valentin Varennikov, chairman of the committee for veterans' affairs, Igor Vendenko reports, said:

"I treat all Yeltsin's recent decisions exclusively as populist steps aimed at the struggle for votes for the forthcoming elections. This edict is no exception. Contract service is not necessary right now and is simply not feasible. Above all for financial reasons."

But however that may be the presidential edict has been published. The military reform has been started. And the legislative tasks set in this document should be fulfilled unconditionally. This is expected of Boris Yeltsin not only by abstract voters but also by specific soldiers' mothers and by the soldiers and sailors and their commanders themselves.

**Russia: Military Daily Reader Welcomes Move to Volunteer Service**

*MM2105101296 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

[Reader's letter from Captain 3d Class Aleksandr Lyutov: "Dictated By Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Officers are encountering problems with the educational standards and preparedness of the draft contingent every day. Judge for yourselves. Over the past few years the general educational level of draftees and their physical fitness and state of health have considerably deteriorated. The virtually complete lack of any predraft youth training and gaps in young people's patriotic education and the shaping of their moral and psychological steadiness are having a negative impact.

Life itself and society's economic set-up point to the need to change the system for encouraging military service and improving its prestige. This can only be achieved by adopting a targeted state program envisaging high-quality budget funding and manpower acquisition for the Armed Forces.

The Russian Federation presidential edict on switching to Russian Federation Armed Forces manpower acquisition on a professional footing by 2000 provides major grounds for hoping that in the very near future we will have a qualitatively new Army and Navy. Experience of conducting combat operations to restore constitutional order in the Chechen Republic has shown that only professionalism makes it possible to avoid any unjustifiable losses. Consequently, the Russian Federation president's edict on sending drafted servicemen to military conflict zones solely on a voluntary basis — that is, under contract — is being positively received. I am confident that this approach to solving the tasks of the country's defense capability will ensure stability and confidence in the future for many servicemen and their families.

[signed] Captain 3d Class Aleksandr Lyutov

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**Russia: Yeltsin May Dismiss Grachev, Appoint Gromov as Defense Minister**

*MK2105110796 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Igor Korotchenko under the "Military" rubric: "Grachev's Resignation Is Virtually Inevitable. Boris Gromov's Appointment as Defense Minister Has Already Been Agreed Upon With the Presidential Security Service"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the Russian president's trip to Chechnya, which is tentatively scheduled for 3-4 June of this year, Boris Yeltsin plans to announce personnel changes in the Defense Ministry's leadership — this, according to a conversation your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent had with a well-informed Kremlin source. In his words, a draft presidential edict has already been drawn up under which Pavel Grachev will be replaced by Colonel General Boris Gromov, former commander of the 40th Army, currently a State Duma deputy. Therefore, having signed the edict for the creation of a professional Armed Forces the other day, Boris Yeltsin appears to have made up his mind to take the next radical step; that is, to remove from office Army General Grachev, chief of the Russian military agency. This is the step a number of influential political forces — and virtually all of the key media — have urged the president to take for the past several years.

According to information available to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the Kremlin plans to lay the blame for the failure of federal troops in Chechnya, the collapse of military reform, and the Armed Forces' woeful state at Pavel Grachev's doorstep. It is not known, however, whether Grachev himself will agree to voluntarily play the role of scapegoat and to assume responsibility for the winless Chechen campaign — the reason being that it was not he who made the decision to move troops to Chechnya. Of course, Grachev will not commit suicide in order to avoid disgrace, as did Admiral Jeremy Boorda, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations. But there is a question as to whether or not he is going to keep obediently silent. Yet, as a consolation, there are plans to offer Grachev several options for employment: at the Security Council, the presidential staff, or within the system of supreme executive authority.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned that the candidacy of Andrey Kokoshin was also considered for the post of defense minister, but President Yeltsin preferred Boris Gromov. And, along with him, a number of the other commanders may also get promotions. The following names have been mentioned: Colonel General Leontiy Kuznetsov, commander of the Moscow Military District; Colonel General Viktor Chechevatov, his counterpart in the Far Eastern Military District; and Lieutenant General Valeriy Yevnevich, commander of the Operational Group of Russian Forces in the Dniester Region.

If Boris Gromov becomes the next Russian defense minister, he is planning to merge all the state military structures into a single mechanism — the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation — and to create a centralized command and control system. Gromov stands for the establishment of effective civilian and political control over the plans for military organizational development, as well as for an increasingly active coordinating role for the General Staff. (Details of this plan are set forth in Boris Gromov's article in the latest issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's supplement — NEZAVISIMOYE VOYENNOYE OBOZRENIYE — OF 16 May 1996.)

Undoubtedly, the planned personnel changes at the Defense Ministry are bound to have a most favorable effect on Yeltsin's electoral image, while the personal courage to be demonstrated by the president during his review of the combat formations of Russian troops in Chechnya will certainly boost his authority with the military. At the same time, should Yeltsin attempt to take countermeasures — including the use of force — in the event of Gennadiy Zyuganov's victory in the presidential election, it is not clear whether General Gromov will be willing to unquestioningly carry out all the orders that would inevitably follow from the Kremlin. Yet, this problem appears to have been discussed already with the candidate for the post of defense minister, because Boris Gromov's new appointment has already been approved by the Presidential Security Service.

As for Pavel Grachev, he has less than two weeks at his disposal to try to convince President Yeltsin that there is no alternative to him for the post of defense minister.

**Russia: Grachev Begins Tour of Eastern Military Districts**

*LD2105095996 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0907 GMT 21 May 96*

[By Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, May 21 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev today left for a working tour of the country's military districts. He is expected to visit the Urals, Siberian, and Trans-Baykal military districts.

Yelena Agapova, the minister's aide, told Itar-Tass that the main purpose of the trip was to check the combat preparedness of the troops after the winter training

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period and to set before them new tasks for the summer training spell.

Besides visiting units and contingents deployed in the said military districts, Grachev will also meet the administration heads of Russia's eastern regions.

The minister will make his first stopover at Yekaterinburg.

## Federal Assembly

### Russia: Duma Considers Ratification of Agreement With EU

*LD2005170396 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Pavel Kuznetsov and Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 20 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian State Duma (lower louse) on Monday considered ratification of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Russian and the European Union (EU) which was signed in the Island of Corfu in June, 1994.

Over 30 Russian ministers and agencies concerned prepared the document.

Ratification of the first-ever agreement between Russia and the EU will raise "relations between Europe's two biggest political and economic centres to the level of equal partnership," Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Afanasyevskiy said during the hearing.

Besides, ratification will form a basis for Russia's integration into common European economic space, Afanasyevskiy said.

Lawmakers said that the agreement will allow Russia to develop its relations with the EU gradually to approach the level of economic cooperation between the EU nations.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Georgiy Gabuniya assured legislators that the implementation of the agreement will help overcome trade barriers between Russia and the EU.

### Russia: Duma Chairman Denies Receiving Proposals To Upset Stability

*LD2105105396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 21 (INTERFAX) — State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev told reporters Tuesday that the State Duma had not received any proposals on "upsetting stability in Russia" allegedly voiced during a recent closed-door full session of Communist Party leaders.

According to the documents of the party session published in the press, Communist Party representative Leonid Petrovskiy proposed that pickets and demonstrations be organized in order to put pressure on the president and government, and that "certain tensions be organized" through the State Duma.

Seleznev announced that he was not present at the session and had no information about such statements.

He categorically denied the rumors that his dismissal from the post of secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee reflected the Communist Party leaders' dissatisfaction with his position which had a negative impact on the political rating of presidential candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov. "There is no split in the Communist Party and all of these rumors are absolute rubbish," he said. He added that he was dismissed at his own request, given his current workload.

In answer to the Interfax question about the Communists' weak positions in large cities (this issue was reportedly discussed at the session, too), Seleznev said: "Defeat may be expected in the cities which have never been left-wing: Moscow, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk, so we cannot count on these cities." (Leningrad's current name is St. Petersburg and Sverdlovsk is now named Yekaterinburg.)

Commenting on President Yeltsin's rising rating, which some polls now rank as higher than that of Zyuganov, Seleznev said that "the results of opinion polls are far-fetched. ... The president will find himself with egg on his face, I'm afraid," said Seleznev. "You remember the high rating of the Gaydar faction in 1993 — where are they now? The same happened to the Russia Is Our Home rating during the 1995 parliamentary elections. Things repeat themselves," he said.

## Regional Affairs

### Russia: Chechen Official Gives More Details of Plot Against Yeltsin

*LD2005184496 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1750 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Security Department of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria intends on 21 May, "officially to make public new data confirming the seriousness of the intentions of those organizing a terrorist act against Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his trip to Chechnya," Movladi Udugov, head of the Ichkeria Press and Information Department, told Ekho Moskvy radio station.

He is continuing to insist that staff of the Ichkeria State Security Department detained Russian special services

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Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Markin, who allegedly spoke about "a terrorist act being prepared among the military in the Russian army against President Yeltsin during the latter's possible sojourn in the Chechen Republic."

Movladi Udugov said that "Aleksandr Markin occupied the official post of deputy head of the Urus-Martan District Internal Affairs Department that the detained man said was an official cover for his main activities in Chechnya. On 10 February, Russian military counterintelligence staged his disappearance, after which Markin was instructed to establish direct contacts with field commanders on the southeastern front, working in the guise of an arms trader."

"On 11 May, Aleksandr Markin was sent to Achkhoy-Martan for a conspiratorial meeting. He said the next meeting was to have been held within an hour of him receiving a radio encrypted communication on a portable radio on the fighters' reserve frequencies giving the coordinates of Boris Yeltsin's whereabouts during his sojourn in Chechnya. Markin reported that he did not know the name and post of the man who set him this task, but he knows his radio call sign," Udugov declared.

**Russia: Chernomyrdin: Reconstruction in Chechnya Limited in Jan-Mar**

*LD2105121196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, May 21 (Interfax) — The Russian government was able to carry out only limited rebuilding work in Chechnya during the first quarter of 1996 due to increased fighting and lack of funds, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said as he opened the Tuesday session of the state commission on the Chechen war.

The government did dole out 96 billion rubles in pensions and another 128 billion rubles in other social benefits to Chechen residents during the first quarter.

The commission intends to examine measures for financing reconstruction work in the republic.

The government started rebuilding work in the republic almost as soon as it sent tanks into Groznyy in December 1994, Chernomyrdin said. Some 1.3 million square meters of apartment buildings have been rebuilt in Groznyy since the war began, as have 12 of 13 sewage pumping stations.

Over 80 industrial companies of the 149 operating in 1991 were back at work by the beginning of this year, Chernomyrdin said. Two-thirds of the republic's population has electricity, according to government figures.

Some 69 bore-holes and two oil refining units have been put back on line over the past year and a half, he said. Oil companies extracted 637,000 tonnes of oil last year, and another 312,000 tonnes this year, he said. Some 56,000 tonnes have been refined.

The education system is back at work for the first time in the past three years, he said. There are now 186,000 students attending the republic's 448 schools, while another 5,000 students are attending 18 technical-vocational schools, and more than 13,000 students are now receiving a higher education.

The government has also provided 221.6 billion rubles in aid to refugees from Chechnya.

A September presidential order earmarked another 253 billion rubles in compensation payments to those who have suffered from the conflict. Over 130,000 refugees have been returned to Chechnya as a result of these measures.

**Russia: Grachev Says Chechen Rebels Waging Guerrilla War**

*LD2105120696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1138 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SHADRINSK (Kurgan Region, Russia), May 21 (Interfax) — Chechen rebels have gone over to guerrilla warfare, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said on Tuesday in the town of Shadrinsk (the Kurgan region of Russia).

According to him, "the rebels lost organized control; there are differences among field commanders."

With regard to Boris Yeltsin's planned visit to Chechnya, Grachev said, "I have mixed views on that score. The president's desire to go to Chechnya is natural. There are servicemen-voters there. Yeltsin will be interested to know how the ceasefire agreement is being observed, how bilateral talks are being prepared. On the other hand, I stick to the position of the heads of the security ministries who do not recommend that Boris Yeltsin go to Chechnya for reasons of personal safety. This, however, does not mean that we cannot ensure the visit's safety."

Speaking about Yeltsin's decision on the transfer from the year 2000 to contract service in the army, Grachev said: "Decrees are orders to be obeyed. On May 20 we held a meeting on how to implement the presidential decree on the transfer to contract service of soldiers and non-commissioned officers."

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**Russia: Chechen Leader Zavgayev Gives Moscow News Conference**

*MM2005140596 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Sergey Knyazkov: "Chechnya Was, Is, and Will Be Part of the Russian State. Republic Head Doku Zavgayev Is Certain of This"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest events in Chechnya indicate that the military defeat of the latest organized bandit formations and their expulsion to the republic's mountainous areas are quite obvious. At the same time the Chechen Government has not for a single day stopped the dialogue with those who are currently still in conflict with the law. That is why, in the opinion of Doku Zavgayev, head of the Chechen Republic, the situation in the republic has positive dynamics and Chechen society is moving toward civil accord.

At a meeting with journalists in Moscow Zavgayev stressed that the current situation in Chechnya differs from that which existed only a few months ago. There is now no resistance from organized, mobile, large groups of people who were armed with tanks, armored personnel carriers, and "Grad" rocket launchers. But there are small groups of gunmen left who are increasingly clashing with each other. They are still dangerous since they are using terrorist methods of fighting. How can these people be made to change their minds? "We will fight them," Zavgayev stressed, "but by peaceful means, using the customs and traditions of our part of the world, by taking people out of the bandit environment...."

Incidentally, according to the head of the Chechen Republic the Russian president's peace initiatives and the Chechen Republic Government's copybook work are forcing many gunmen to reconsider their views and go over to the side of the legitimate authorities. Moreover, to go over not formally but completely consciously. There are many examples of this. Thus, on 11 May in the area of the city of Gudermes gunmen surrounded a Chechen police checkpoint and ordered weapons to be surrendered. The seven police officers, three of whom were themselves gunmen in the recent past, preferred to fight. Three police officers, including two former Dudayev supporters, died there.

Answering a question about the possibility of Boris Yeltsin's visiting Chechnya, Zavgayev stressed that it would undoubtedly be useful and necessary. According to the head of the Chechen Republic, the Russian Federation president's security will be guaranteed.

"The Chechen Republic has always been, is now, and for centuries to come will be an integral part of the great state," Zavgayev stressed in conclusion. "The Chechen people do not need confrontation with anybody. They have lived and will continue to live in peace and harmony, in mutual understanding, and in mutual support with all our country's peoples."

**Russia: Chechen Separatists Demand Release of Envoy in Moscow**

*LD2105112596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1116 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, May 21 (Interfax) — The arrest of "representative of the parliament of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria," Vagap Tutakov, is a move planned in advance, says the statement by the "parliament" of the self-proclaimed Republic of Ichkeria, circulated in Moscow Tuesday.

The parliament of the Chechen separatists regards the arrest of its representative as a "political provocation aimed at foiling the peaceful settlement of the conflict," says the statement. It also demands Tutakov's immediate release.

Tutakov was detained two weeks ago when he was returning from Moscow to Kaluga where he lives with his family.

State Duma Deputy Valeriy Borshev shares this opinion. He told a press conference in Moscow Tuesday that Tutakov's arrest was a "symptomatic example of violation of human rights on ethnic grounds."

Since the beginning of combat operations in Chechnya, citizens of this republic "have been subjected to reprisals by the Russian authorities," he said.

Meanwhile, Tutakov's lawyer Pavel Nechepurenko told reporters that the case of his defendant had been "concocted from the very beginning. ...Tutakov is faced with charges of stealing weapons and ammunition, which incurs imprisonments of six to ten years," he said. "In actual fact, a grenade without a fuse had been placed under his car," he added.

"Importantly, Tutakov is kept in a preliminary detention ward in a Moscow suburb as a witness not as a defendant," said Nechepurenko. He said he would demand Tutakov's release and the initiation of legal action against those who had organized his illegal arrest.

**Russia: Chechen Separatists Release Official, Serviceman**

*LD2005152096 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1200 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The news service of the government of the Chechen republic told Ekho Moskvy radio

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station that according to information of the central military commandant's office of Groznyy, there were 17 exchanges of fire in the town over the past 24 hours and 15 Russian servicemen were wounded, two of them seriously.

Moreover, the news service of the government said four passengers of a bus that was blown up by a mine were injured.

The news service of the government of Doku Zavgayev said that Lecha Salikhov, chairman of the State Statistics Committee of the Chechen republic, who was held prisoner by the fighters for several months, had been released. The fighters had also released a Russian servicemen from captivity.

**Russia: Spokesman Says Chechen Separatists Lack 'Unified Center'**

*LD2105111096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1026 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, May 21 (Interfax) — Talks with separatist militants will not lead to peace in Chechnya because the separatists themselves are not a single entity, official spokesman for the Moscow-backed Chechen government Ruslan Martagov told Interfax Tuesday.

"The rebels do not have a unified center right now," he said. "They do not act together, and there is simply no one to hold talks with.

"Calls for talks only serve to raise the ratings of rebel leaders and make them out to be a political force."

Talks are indeed necessary with individual field commanders "but only on the subject of their transition to peaceful existence," he said. "We also need firm guarantees of security for those who lay down their arms.

"But if talks resume, both the Chechen people and the Russian army will be set up for a fall. We shouldn't forget that we are still dealing with the consequences of last year's talks with the militants.

"All Chechen villages, aside from five or six, have signed peace pact with the republic's leaders and federal army command. The rebels control just over 5 percent of the entire territory of Chechnya," Martagov said.

The number of "intransigent" separatists now numbers no more than 500, he said.

**Russia: Chechen Commanders Present Amended Military Plans**

*LD2005152196 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1435 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chechen military command is correcting its military plans in connection with the forthcoming elections of the Russian president and the People's Assembly (parliament) of Chechnya, Movladi Udugov, head of the department of information and press of the pro-Dudayev government told Ekho Moskvy radio station.

He said that "a sitting of the supreme command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Ichkeria took place on 19 May under the chairmanship of Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev at which the military presented for approval their amended military plans."

"It is expected that a joint sitting of the state defense committee of Chechnya and the commanders of all fronts and sectors of the Armed Forces of Ichkeria will take place on 24 May under the chairmanship of Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev at which the amended military plans will be approved once and for all."

**Russia: April Poverty Level in Moscow Cited**

*MK2105092496 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 21 May 96 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Poverty Line for a Child in Capital Is More Than 900,000 Rubles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, a Muscovite's [monthly] subsistence wage in April stood at 694,725 rubles [R].

An inhabitant of the capital spent for food R426,086 and R99,295 for commodities other than food last month. Outlays for services in April amounted to R133,218, and those for taxes and dues totaled R36,126.

An able-bodied man had to spend for himself at least R842,545 last month. Outlays for food, nonfoodstuffs, services, and taxes in this category amounted to R454,849, R130,932, R188,519, and R68,246, respectively.

Women had to spend one hundred thousand less in April: R741,545. They spent R400,291 on food, and R115,221 on nonfoodstuffs. Their services cost R165,912, and R60,060 went for taxes, dues, and other payments.

The subsistence [monthly] wage of a pensioner in the capital in April was equal to R545,059 — R409,378

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out of this sum was spent on food, R38,372 on nonfoodstuffs, and R94,309 on services.

Parents had to spend R904,664 per one child of between 7 and 15 years of age. The amounts spent on food, nonfoodstuffs, and services totaled R600,906, R138,761, and R164,997, respectively.

The upkeep of a child under 7 years of age cost R544,762 last month. The food in this case cost R370,866; the nonfoodstuffs cost R78,721; and the services cost R95,175.

**Russia: No Winner in 1st Round of St. Petersburg Mayoral Election**

*LD2005181896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, May 20 (Interfax) — None of the 14 candidates up for governor of St. Petersburg garnered 50 percent of the vote they needed to win in the first round, the city electoral commission told Interfax Monday evening.

Current mayor Anatoliy Sobchak led the way with 524,526 votes, or 29 percent.

He was followed by First Deputy Mayor Vladimir Yakovlev, who received 390,139 votes, good for 21.6 percent. Deputy Chairman of Russia's Accounting Chamber Yuriy Boldyrev earned 308,825 votes, or 17.1 percent.

General Director of the northwest branch of the Russian Housing Academy Sergey Rudasyev received just 1,474 votes, or 0.1 percent.

In accordance with St. Petersburg law, another vote will be held, tenatively scheduled for May 26.

Some 49.12 percent of eligible voters, or 1,780,872, took part in the voting.

**Russia: Sobchak Interviewed on St. Petersburg Elections**

*LD2005181496*

[FBIS Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1535 GMT on 20 May features Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St Petersburg, on the 25-minute "Hero of the Day" program. Announcer Yevgeniy Kiselev, in the Moscow studio, interviews Sobchak over a live television bridge with the St Petersburg television studio. Sobchak announces the latest, verified results of the St Petersburg mayoral election: "According to the latest figures, 48 percent of the electorate turned out to vote in the elections; 29.7 percent voted for me, 22 percent voted for [Vladimir] Yakovlev, and [Yuriy] Boldyrev came third with 18 percent."

Sobchak says the surprisingly low turnout is due to the weather: The weekend turned warm after a spell of cold weather and people left the city. He said he was hoping to get around 35-40 percent of the vote, but the large number of candidates dissipated the vote and a second round was expected.

On the performance of Sobchak's rival in the race, Kiselev asks: "There has been a lot of talk that Mr. Yakovlev, your first deputy and at the same time your main rival, enjoys the support of certain extremely powerful forces in the center of Russia, in Moscow." The interview cuts to a video report, in which an NTV correspondent recaps on incidences where Sobchak has voiced opinions opposing Yeltsin, rumors that Moscow was backing other candidates, and rumors of financial scandals in the city. Throughout the mayoral election campaign, however, Sobchak reiterated his support for Yeltsin.

Asked to comment, Sobchak said: "My support for Boris Nikolayevich has nothing to do with all these events, because I support Boris Nikolayevich in principle. I support him because I link the continuation of the reforms and the democratic policy in the country with him, not with Zyuganov or any of the other candidates. As for the other things, there is a whole series of undoubted fabrications."

However, he continues, "What is true is that Mr. Yakovlev is the protege of quite definite Moscow political and financial circles." He draws Kiselev's attention to an article on the subject in ST PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI of 17 May 1996, entitled "The hand of Moscow is stretching out to the St Petersburg elections," and refuses to be drawn on Kiselev's questions about the rumored involvement of Yeltsin's security chief, Korzhakov.

Sobchak defends his description of the mayoral elections as a dress rehearsal for the June presidential elections, on the grounds that he has three communist rivals. The St Petersburg elections show the support for the democratic forces and continuation of reforms, Sobchak says. The second round, the date of which will be set on 21 May, will be a purely Petersburg matter. Sobchak says he will get his extra votes in the second round from a higher turnout and from exercise of political maturity by voters.

Sobchak says he is open to negotiations with Yuriy Boldyrev, who came third in the voting, but says he believes St Petersburg voters are too sophisticated to be deceived by any horsetrading over votes in the second round. He was in favor of the St Petersburg elections being held on 19 May to ensure a stable authority in

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the city for the presidential elections, which he is sure Boris Yeltsin will win.

## Economic Issues

### Russia: Central Bank Statement on New Currency Exchange Arrangement

*MM2005130396 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 96 p 5*

["Statement by Central Bank of the Russian Federation on Official Ruble Exchange Rate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In conjunction with the joint statement by the government and the Central Bank of the Russian Federation of 16 May 1996 on ruble exchange-rate policy, the Bank of Russia is changing the system for establishing the official exchange rate of foreign currencies against the Russian Federation ruble.

The existing mechanism for establishing the official ruble exchange rate by tying it to the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange rate, as laid down by the 3 July 1992 Central Bank of the Russian Federation statement, is being abolished and a mechanism introduced for establishing the official ruble exchange rate on the basis of Bank of Russia quotations using the correlation between supply and demand for foreign currency on the interbank and foreign-exchange markets, the dynamics of inflation indicators, the situation on international foreign-exchange markets, and changes in the size of state gold and foreign currency reserves and the dynamics of the country's balance of payments indicators.

As of 17 May 1996 the Bank of Russia will announce the daily dollar bid and offer rates for its operations in the interbank and foreign-exchange markets at 1000 Moscow time. The spread between these rates will not exceed 1.5 percent. On the basis of these rates the Bank of Russia will conduct foreign-exchange operations with the banks which are leading players on the interbank foreign- exchange market.

The official ruble-dollar rate will be set by the Bank of Russia every day as the middle rate between the announced Bank of Russia bid and offer rates. The official ruble rate against other freely convertible countries and currencies of countries which are the Russian Federation's main foreign economic partners will be set every day taking account of the dynamics of those countries' exchange rates against the dollar on the international foreign exchanges. And the official ruble-dollar rate, as well as the ruble rate against other currencies, will be introduced on the calendar day following its announcement.

The official ruble rate against other international currencies and international accounting and temporary monetary units will be established on a monthly basis taking account of the dynamics of those currencies' exchange rates against the dollar.

The establishment and publication of the official ruble exchange rate are carried out by the Bank of Russia in line with the Central Bank of the Russian Federation's procedure for setting the official ruble exchange rate.

In accordance with the government and Central Bank of the Russian Federation joint statement of 16 May 1996, the Bank of Russia will restrict day-to-day movements in the ruble exchange rate on the foreign exchanges and interbank foreign currency market to set limits, which will change smoothly from R5,000 and R5,600 to the dollar as of 1 July 1996 to R5,500 and R6,100 to the dollar as of 31 December 1996.

A table showing the daily values of the upper and lower level of the ruble exchange rate's market movements is published in the appendix to this statement.

[Signed] S.K. Dubinin, chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation

### Russia: Fears of Capital Flight Allayed

*MM2005160696 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 96 Weekend Edition p 27*

[Report by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Return of the Wandering Capital. Despite Forecasts of the Wholesale Flight of 'Russian Money' Abroad, Russian Capital Is Showing a Marked Tendency To Return Home"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow loves rumors. It loves gossip born of rumors even more. This was very aptly and accurately remarked by Vladimir Vysotskiy, who sang in one of his songs that in Moscow "Rumors spread like flies: One-eyed old women spread them from door to door."

One such rumor was actually launched from the platform of the State Duma on the initiative of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: that all tickets from Sheremetyevo [Airport] for 16 June are sold out. The "New Russians" will flee Russia in fear of a Gennadiy Zyuganov victory in the presidential election, and their capital will flee the country ahead of them and be transferred to foreign banks.

The "one-eyed women" can be forgiven their enthusiasm for such an interesting occupation. But for politicians to stoop to the level of these scandalmongers is quite unseemly. Because things are not entirely as this rumor represents them, indeed they are not the way it represents them at all.

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Immediately after the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader's speech we phoned the airport information desk, where we were informed that there are still tickets, even to Singapore or Switzerland. But the real point, of course, is not the tickets but the capital. Here things are far more complicated.

Our survey of businessmen in Moscow revealed that their business activity did indeed fall in April-May. Noticeably fewer deals, particularly of a major kind, were concluded on the internal market. This can in fact be explained by reference to the election situation. Businessmen prefer to adopt a wait-and-sea policy ahead of 16 June. But it emerged from our interviews that this is not because they fear the loss of their capital, but because they are afraid of selling it too cheaply. Incidentally, this can also be seen from the heated futures trading on Russia's presidential candidates on the Moscow stock exchange.

But the main point is that business activity as a whole and the overall socioeconomic situation in our society are by no means reminiscent of the effect produced by boiling water on an ant hill.

A whole series of signs point to increased activity in the movement of capital. Including foreign capital. For some reason, it is completely unalarmed by the fears whipped up from the State Duma rostrum.

In April extremely prestigious Western investment companies, such as Salomon Brothers, Coca-Cola, Wrigley, and others, began opening branches in Russia. During these months, looking at these companies, new Russian capitalists also stopped moving their capital abroad.

According to the Central Bank of the Russian Federation's currency regulation and currency control department, in the first quarter of this year Russian commercial banks imported around $6 billion into the country in cash. And they exported, in March, for example... $19 million. In April, having acquired the taste for it, these banks imported a further $3 billion. In 1995, again according to Central Bank information, the proportion of currency proceeds that did not return, that is to say, that were not used to purchase equipment or pay debts, was 50 percent. But in the first five months of 1996 this figure fell to 12-13 percent.

Still more interesting are the data reported 11 May by Mikhail Gurtovoy, leader of the International Information Center (four years ago he headed a government commission on the fight against corruption). He believes that far more interesting trends can be traced in the Russian provinces. For example, he said, we surveyed three regions in this context: Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga. By comparison with last year the number of those wishing to buy, for example, a house abroad is down by approximately one-third. The number of those wishing to invest money in shares in foreign enterprises has halved over the past 18 months; in Tatarstan it is down by two-thirds. In Tatarstan in the past two months interest in acquiring real estate abroad has actually fallen virtually to nil.

Analyzing the causes of this extraordinary shift in the new Russian capitalists' behavior, M. Gortovoy reaches the following conclusions: People who have seriously invested money in plants and major enterprises cannot now withdraw that money and transfer it abroad. Moreover, they do not wish to do so. Many of them are convinced that Russian capital is not effective abroad. It turns out that our capitalists simply cannot work in conditions of a steady, stable, but foreign market. And these people find it ultimately boring to sit and play the role of rentiers receiving six to seven percent annual interest on their capital.

It is impossible to disagree with M. Gortovoy in these conclusions. Our own research shows that Russian capital has entirely failed to adapt to life abroad. Foreign wheelers and dealers willingly allow the new Russian capitalists carte blache to throw their money around buying luxury items and real estate, because all the profits from these investments remain in the West. But as soon as it comes to jostling for profits, insuperable obstacles at once arise in the way of Russian capital. It turns out that it is only criminal business that Russian capital can penetrate more or less freely. And this is not only risky, but potentially entails the loss of freedom. Our capitalists have constantly before their eyes the example of the Russian bandit Yaponchik, who was arrested in the United States and is threatened with life imprisonment.

The wealthy classes in the West are in no hurry to move over so as to allow rich Russians into their midst.

In a study of the morals of the wealthy elite French sociologists M. and M. Penson [name as transliterated] write that wealthy French families "despise the nouveaux riches, especially the new Russians, who settle on the Cote d'Azur and squander huge fortunes. They are shocked by the fact that these fortunes were not made from the production of material assets for their country, but purely through speculation and commerce. Of course, money ultimately unlocks all doors. It is only a question of time. But that time could extend to two or three generations."

But I do not think that this is just a matter of the negative behavior of Western snobs. There is another factor. Soberly analyzing the situation now existing in Russia, Russian business is coming to the conclusion that the

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reform policy begun at the end of 1991 has acquired an irreversible character and it is now impossible to turn back the course of events. The guarantee of this confidence is the fact, visible even to the naked eye, that Russian society in 1996 entered another stage in its development, whose characteristics no election can now change. Many signs point to this. For example, the following. Since last year the interest shown by our society's young people in higher education has been growing rapidly. This is a spontaneous trend, which no one had previously been able to forecast but which is all the more reliable for that. Moreover, it is the legal profession, and not physics or metallurgy, that has come to the fore. And, after all, it is well known that in developed, civilized societies this is the most popular profession. Only four years ago there were just 40 law schools in the country, but in 1996 there are already 170 state, public, and private law schools.

The most important factor in this new phase of Russian society's development is that the past four years have seen for the first time a reversal of the destructive trend in economic development whereby, as a result of the Gaydar administration's ill-considered policy, two tendencies stretched the economy and society to breaking point: an absolute reduction in industrial production levels, coupled with a simultaneous growth in financial capital generated by so-called "short" money — to put it simply, speculation.

Since the end of 1995 the situation has been changing radically. The leading Russian commercial banks have not only amassed the necessary capital to complete more solid transactions but have also realized the logic of the fact that further industrial stagnation would threaten the industrial sector of the economy and financial institutions with bankruptcy. All these things taken together would lead to the complete destruction of the economic foundations of Russian statehood.

Realization of this logic has also reached the upper echelons of state structures, and there is a marked rapprochement between these structures and the commercial banks, which resulted in the so-called shares-for-loans sheme of September 1995. We have witnessed a major shift in economic policy: The banks have taken on the new role of being useful to the state; and the state has begun to employ an economic modus operandi in its work with the national banks, taking them fully into its confidence. This factor has been an additional incentive for the new Russian capitalists to gradually return their capital from abroad and place it in investment projects in their own country.

**Russia: Minister Pak on Increasing Arms Producers' Independence**

*MM2105100296 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 96 p 7*

[Unattributed report: "Are We United by Arms?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has every chance to ensure that it takes a leading position in the world arms export market.

This was stated by Zinoviy Pak, Russian Federation minister of the defense industry. But he noted that the "Rosvooruzheniye" Company's monopoly of Russian arms exports is preventing us from making a major breakthrough in this area.

Many defense enterprises today are prepared to enter the foreign market with their products independently. Seven enterprises already have that right — including the "MiG" Moscow Aviation Production Association, the "Splav" Production Association (Tula), and the "Izhmash" Plant. According to Zinoviy Pak, another 24 military-industrial complex enterprises will win the right to trade weapons independently in the very near future.

Valeriy Mikhaylov, leader of the Russian Government Apparatus' Defense Sectors of Industry Department, noted that Russia currently depends on associated plants in the former Soviet republics "purely as regards components." These shipments, as he put it, could be avoided if production were expanded in Russia, but "this would be disadvantageous both economically and politically." On the whole, the Russian defense sector requires around 40 trillion rubles in order to secure full "independence from CIS suppliers" [dlya obespecheniya polnoy "nezavisimosti postavshchikov iz SNG"].

**Russia: Finance Minister on Tax Reforms, 'Tax Amnesty'**

*LD2005153196 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1220 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Experts from the Finance Ministry, the State Tax Service, the Russian highest court of arbitration, various enterprises and banks exchanged views on the future of Russia's tax policies today. Finance Minister Vladimir Georgiyevich Panskov spoke with our correspondent Svetlana Sokomina about the Finance Ministry's stand.

[Begin recording] [Panskov] There will be no major changes in the tax system in the near future. It has taken shape and been adjusted to our economy. On the other hand, we will first of all have to lighten the tax burden even further. But to implement this measure, we must improve the collection of taxes. We must ensure that

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taxes are paid by those who currently minimize their taxes or refuse to pay them at all. Then we can consider reducing tax rates. The second and fourth parts of a draft tax code provide for reducing tax on profit by two points. [sentence as heard]. We would also like to reduce VAT, but, under the circumstances, we cannot realistically afford this.

[Sokomina] You have used an interesting phrase, tax amnesty.

[Panskov] Tax amnesty was declared in 1993 by the president's edict. The term has the right to exist today, too. Another edict, which has already been signed by the president and will be published in the next few days, provides for an amnesty on penalty payments, which have reached gigantic proportions. We intend to exempt enterprises from paying all penalties accumulated by 20 May, that is today. As for other amnesty measures, they are intended to ensure current payments into the budget. As you know, the president's edict No. 65, published this year, is another kind of tax amnesty, which will give enterprises easier terms for the repayment of tax debts accumulated over the years, provided they make all current payments regularly, on time, and in full. This is another kind of tax amnesty. We are preparing to introduce tax amnesty on money brought in from abroad. But here we are facing, as it were, criminal rather than economic problems. We cannot extend the amnesty to the money obtained in Russia illegally. As for the money that was gained — or even earned — legally, but taken abroad and left there with no taxes paid, we are drafting proposals to impose no penalties. The main task is to attract money to the Russian economy. [end recording]

**Russia: R15 Billion To Resume Construction of Urals AES**

*MM2105102496 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 May 96 p 6*

[Unattributed report: "Construction of South Urals AES To Continue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 15 billion rubles [R] will be allocated this year to resume construction of the South Urals AES [nuclear electric power station].

This was stated by Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government. Construction of the AES, the first vice premier believes, will create an additional 5,000 jobs.

Given that around R65 billion will be needed to continue the project, the Russian Federation Cabinet of Ministers has instructed interested ministries and departments to accelerate the designation of funding sources for building the AES.

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## International Affairs

### Ukraine: Kuchma Meets With Russian Gazprom Chairman

*LD2005202596 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1845 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 20 May — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma received chairman of the Russian Gazprom company Rem Vyakhirev, who is holding talks with the Ukrainian government on issues concerning the transit of Russian gas to Europe. The Ukrainian delegation at the talks is led by First Deputy Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko.

Both sides stated that, for the first time in five years, Ukraine had paid in full for gas supplied in the past four months, and that the new system of supplying gas to the population adopted by the Ukrainian Government had proved the most appropriate under present conditions, allowing Russia to fulfill its obligations to European consumers.

During the talks today, the sides agreed on a procedure to ensure the maintenance of the Ukrainian Ukrhazprom company's pipeline network and the storage of Russian gas in Ukraine's underground repositories for its further distribution according to contracts.

### Ukraine: Udovenko: OSCE Mission to Ukraine Has Completed Task

*LD2005185396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, May 20 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Ukraine's Foreign Ministry believes that the mission to Ukraine of the Organization for Security and Cooperating in Europe (OSCE) is winding up its work. A statement to this effect has been made in Kiev Monday by foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko.

The OSCE Mission and its branch in Crimea are currently functioning in Ukraine.

"We proceed from the premises that the mission has carried out its task," Udovenko said. "The stay of the mission in one or another country is evidence that situation is unstable there. "We believe that the situation is gradually stabilizing now," the Minister underscored.

Yet, the Foreign Minister explained, this is the viewpoint of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine. Consultations on the issue are to be held both with the Ukrainian leadership and the Government of Crimea, he said. According to H. Udovenko, consultations on the issue have been held in the Autonomous Republic of Crime by his deputy Volodymyr Khandogiy.

The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry has not yet sent an official address to the OSCE, requesting to withdraw its mission, the Minister disclosed. "But we have already semi-officially expressed that wish," he added.

Consultations are currently underway with the OSCE leaders on a three-month prolongation of its mission, H. Udovenko said.

The situation is absolutely conflict-free, according to Udovenko. "We are confident that the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities Max van der Stoel copes with his duties very well, and he is capable of maintaining the contacts established," the Minister declared.

### Ukraine: Moscow, Kiev Agree on Sum for Nuclear Arms Moved to Russia

*LD2005165996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1539 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, May 20 (Interfax-Ukraine) — The issue of Moscow's compensation to Ukraine for the tactical nuclear weapons transferred to Russia has been on the whole resolved at the first session of the Marchuk-Chernomyrdin commission, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk told a news conference in Kiev Monday.

He said the sides did not discuss a concrete sum then, but now talks between experts have allowed to reach a compromise on the precise amount of the compensation.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin agreed in Moscow on May 17 that the compensation will total about $450 million.

However, the final sum will be stipulated in a document to be signed by the Ukrainian and Russian prime ministers, he said.

The sum is likely to be included in Ukraine's debt to Russia, said Marchuk.

He also said that it has been decided that Moscow will provide fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power plants as compensation for the transportation of the remaining strategic nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia.

### Ukraine: Navy Deputy Commander Refutes Black Sea Fleet Statement

*LD2005140996 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with journalists Rear-Admiral Mykola Kostrov, head of staff and first

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deputy commander of the Ukrainian Naval Forces, expressed his surprise at a statement issued by the [Russian] Black Sea Fleet press center which says that the desire of the Black Sea Fleet commander to find mutual understanding through negotiations has not had any response from the leaders of the Ukrainian Navy, who are, allegedly, still pursuing a course of confrontation and aggravation of tension in relations between the two sides. Kostrov described these pronouncements by the press center as totally groundless and provocative and stressed that, quite to the contrary, the commanders of the Ukrainian Naval Forces and the Black Sea Fleet have established over the recent past close links and mutual understanding. Moreover, the Ukrainian side is interested in establishing an understanding with the Black Sea Fleet on a whole range of military issues.

Having proclaimed the sincere desire of the Ukrainian Naval Forces to establish friendly partner relations between the Ukrainian and the Russian fleets, Kostrov also expressed his regret that an official body of the command of the Black Sea Fleet has again tried, with no reason, to reach a conclusion on the impossibility of both fleets being based in Sevastopol, notes the Ukrainian Naval Forces press center in this connection.

**Ukraine: Deputy Premier on Prospects for Arms Sales to Iran**

*LD2005152896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, May 19 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukraine and Iran have a stake in supplies to Iran of Ukrainian weapons, but in doing so Ukraine, however, is going to "strictly adhere to her international commitments."

A statement to this effect was made by Ukraine's Vice-Premier in charge of Industry Anatoliy Kinakh, who is currently leading a Ukrainian government delegation to the first joint intergovernmental Ukraine-Iran meeting on cooperation in trade and economy due in Tehran on May 20-23.

Weapons and special hardware supplies are possible only provided all the procedures envisaged by national laws of Ukraine were complied with, the Vice-Premier underscored.

According to A. Kinakh, work is currently underway on several specific contracts in this field, in which "there are quite good opportunities". "Some of the contracts are at the stage of completion," he said.

**Ukraine: Belgian Foreign Minister Comments on Ties With Ukraine**

*LD2005151096 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1345 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 20 May the Governments of Ukraine and Belgium signed four documents: a joint statement, a convention on double taxation and prevention of tax avoidance, an agreement between Ukraine and the Belgian-Luxembourg economic union on attraction and mutual protection of investment, and an agreement between Ukraine and Belgium on air links.

Belgian Foreign Affairs Minister Erik de Rycke, who arrived in Ukraine today, told journalists that his country's government has a positive attitude to the recognizing Ukraine as a country with an economy in transition. As for the ratification by Belgium of the agreement on cooperation between Ukraine and the EU, de Rycke said that the relevant procedure is already under way. He noted that it is a very complicated procedure because economic issues are within the jurisdiction of the regions and not of the federal level.

Speaking to journalists after the ceremony to sign the joint documents, de Rycke said that "a serious task resulting from NATO expansion is the preservation of balance between the West and the East." He stressed that there are three issues that have to be solved in the context of NATO expansion: to adapt NATO to the current situation; acceptance into NATO the countries that satisfy the requirements for the organization's expansion; and to prevent the situation getting out of control. In this context he quoted Russia's position. De Rycke expressed the hope that after the elections, Russia will agree to the idea of NATO expansion because the organization itself and its expansion are not directed against Russia. He also said that Belgium has tried to receive from Russia the clarification of its position. He expressed the aspiration of the Belgian side to reassure their Russian colleagues that "the North Atlantic bloc is not aggressive and does not intend to deploy nuclear weapons outside Russia's borders."

**Ukraine: Kuchma, Belgian Minister Hope Yeltsin Wins Russian Election**

*LD2005170596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1547 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, May 20 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma declared his support for incumbent Boris Yeltsin in Russia's June presidential elections Monday during a meeting with Belgium Foreign Minister Erik de Rycke.

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De Rycke, for his part, said Europe "is hoping for Yeltsin's re-election."

The two discussed Ukraine's relations with Russia, among other things. Kuchma said Ukraine wants "cooperation with Russia founded on equal rights."

**Ukraine: Tkachenko, Belgiam's de Rycke Discuss Reforms, NATO**

*LD2105103196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0850 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukraine has considerable economic potential, but the difficulties of transition from a planned economy to a market one are preventing it from becoming a powerful and truly independent state, Oleksandr Tkachenko, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council told visiting Belgian Foreign Minister Erik de Rycke on 21 May.

Tkachenko said Ukraine may need to use the experience of other European countries that had gone through a period of transition. He urged the Belgian minister to help speed up the ratification of the Ukraine-EU partnership agreement by his country's parliament.

The deputy speaker stressed that the implementation of market reforms was impossible without proper legislative support. He predicted that the Ukrainian Parliament would approve the country's new constitution in the next month or two. If the parliament approves 80 percent of the draft, some articles may be put to a referendum, he said.

The deputy speaker expressed concern at NATO's expansion to the East and the implications for Ukraine's role in the international community. If Ukraine continues to maintain its neutrality, it will risk "ending up in the buffer zone between two political-military systems," Tkachenko said.

De Rycke described Ukraine as a country of key importance to relations between the West and the East. He emphasized the need for Ukraine to maintain a balance in relations both with Western countries and with its Eastern neighbor.

## National Affairs

**Ukraine: Kuchma Accepts 'Majority' of Amendments to Constitution**

*LD2005124696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 20 May 96*

[By Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — A conciliatory commission of the Ukrainian parliament has submitted a draft constitution to the Ukrainian president for approval today. The Ukrainian president accepted the majority of amendments, members of the commission told Itar-Tass.

Leonid Kuchma does not object to an article on a one-chamber parliament being included in the new constitution. The idea of a one-chamber parliament is supported by representatives of communist and socialist factions, while the constitutional commission has suggested a two-chamber parliament. The president believes that a one-chamber parliament might be established as temporary concession for a term of five years. Kuchma has also accepted an amendment on the status of the cabinet of ministers suggesting that a candidature of the prime minister should be coordinated with the parliament.

If the Ukrainian parliament endorses the draft constitution in the main, the president will still have a strong "trump card" since under the new constitution, the president will be entitled to issue decrees having a legislative force.

Debates on the draft constitution are expected to be held in the first reading this week.

Ukrainian parliamentary speaker Oleksandr Moroz believes that the draft constitution is far from being infallible. In his opinion, another draft constitution submitted by communists is much better, more democratic and offers reliable social guarantees to citizens. However, the speaker's attitude to the daft constitution might cost him his job. Representatives of national-democratic forces in parliament have launched a campaign against the speaker, collecting signatures in support of his resignation. A total of 130 signatures out of the mandatory 150 signatures have been collected to put the problem of the speaker's resignation on the parliamentary agenda.

**Ukraine: Kuchma: Regional Leaders Inactive on New Constitution**

*LD2005173796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 20 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told Ukrainian regional leaders in Kiev Monday that he is dissatisfied by their inactivity in the constitutional process, presidential press office told Interfax.

He also said he is not content with the passivity of regional deputies' in parliament.

According to Kuchma, most provisions of the draft Constitution have already been agreed with a provisional parliamentary commission. The president made concessions to the commission in most cases, "realizing that

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bad peace is better than war," a presidential spokesman said.

At the same time Kuchma said there are several important provisions which are still debated, but expressed hope for a compromise.

According to the spokesman, constitutional process was also discussed at a meeting of top presidential administration officials, which Kuchma held Monday morning.

Kuchma is expected to meet with members of the parliamentary constitutional commission Monday afternoon.

Aleksandr Yemets, deputy prime minister in charge of political and legal issues, told Interfax that the meeting will be the last in the series of consultations on the draft Constitution.

Dmitriy Tabachnik, head of the presidential administration, told journalists in Kanev, the Cherkassy region, that the draft "corresponds to the wishes of an absolute majority of Ukrainian people."

He believes the draft Constitution gives every Ukrainian citizen "the absolutely necessary natural rights to work, property and life," as well as an opportunity to live in legislative stability.

Tabachnik said presidential officials and the parliamentary commission are currently putting final touches to the draft.

According to him, the draft Constitution "envisages what Taras Shevchenko dreamed of — personal freedom, including freedom from government." The new Constitution "limits government in the areas where it can influence a person," said Tabachnik.

Meanwhile, the parliamentary press service has issued a statement in connection with Tabachnik's accusations against the parliament and its leadership.

According to the statement, instead of explaining anti-crisis measures taken by the executive, Tabachnik used a May 15 briefing in Kiev to level peremptory accusations against the parliament and its leadership and speak disrespectfully about speaker Oleksandr Moroz.

The parliamentary press office believes Tabachnik violated ethics provisions of the law on state service. "If Tabachnik's accusations express his personal opinion, than the head of administration discredits the entire institution he is working at," the statement reads.

IF Note: At the May 15 briefing Tabachnik described as "theoretically and politically ignorant" a May 13 parliamentary resolution on the situation with the television and radio information in Ukraine. He also criticized the policy of "manipulation with votes" in parliament, allowed by the speaker. According to Tabachnik, most bills discussed in parliament are not well-prepared legally, that is why they are amended even after approval.

In addition, Tabachnik told foreign journalists on May 16 that the passage of the new Constitution by parliament would be accelerated if Moroz was sacked as speaker. By way of response, Moroz said he would not comment on "indecent people's obscenities."

**Ukraine: President Starts Regional Tour To Probe Payment Crisis**

*LD2105100496 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0830 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk region — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma arrived in Mariupol, Donetsk region, today, at the start of a three-day working tour of Donetsk, Ternopol, and Nikolayev regions.

Speaking at the local airport, the president said the purpose of the tour was to investigate the payment crisis. He indicated that the problem may call for extraordinary solutions.

In Mariupol, Kuchma visited the local iron and steel works and the LVG ånd Co [as received] plastics factory. He noted that the economic condition of enterprises in the town was not as critical as in other regions.

In the afternoon, the president plans to meet enterprise managers and town council deputies. Later he will hold a meeting at the Donetsk region state administration.

**Ukraine: Official Denies Radiation Increase After Rovno Accident**

*LD2005151296 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1220 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Rumors about an increase in the radiation level after an accident at the Rovno nuclear power station have been denied by Valeriy Bykov, head of the press center of the Civic Defense Staff, in an interview with a UNIAR correspondent. As for the panic among the residents of Vinnitsa, he said that "no increases in the radiation level in Vinnitsa Region have been registered since the accident at the thermal block of the Rovno nuclear power station."

Bykov also said that misinformation concerning the accident has been circulated among the city's residents by local people's deputies.

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**Ukraine: Crimean Tatar Nationalists Demand Ethnic Autonomy**

*LD2005194596 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1720 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Until the restoration of a Crimean Tatar national territorial autonomy within Ukraine, any political reconciliation in Crimea is unlikely, Ishat Ablayev, deputy chairman of the Crimean Tatar National Movement, told a news conference today. "Kiev's attitude to Crimean Tatar problems is no different from the policy of the former regime," he said.

"The Ukrainian Government is erecting artificial barriers, as if trying to test the patience of those who do not want to remain outcasts in their own land," said Enver Kurtiyev, a member of the Crimean parliament's Kurultay faction. He pointed to the Ukrainian citizenship law as one that prevented Crimean Tatars from exercising their political, economic, and social rights. According to Kurtiyev, only 100,000 out of 250,000 Tatars living in Crimea have been granted Ukrainian citizenship.

"We demand that Majlis be recognized as the only representative body of Crimean Tatar people," says the Crimean Tatar National Movement's appeal to the Ukrainian president, parliament speaker, and the UN and OSCE missions in Ukraine. Crimean Tatars, says the appeal, also demand that Ukraine's draft Constitution define the status of Crimea as a national territorial entity with the right to self determination, that Crimean Tatars be guaranteed representation in the Ukrainian parliament, and that Ukrainian citizenship be granted to them from the moment of their repatriation.

## Economic Issues

**Ukraine: Moroz Views Prospects for Investment 'Boom'**

*LD1805150996 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1050 GMT 18 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukraine is on the threshold of an investment boom, Oleksandr Moroz, chairman of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, believes. He said at a meeting with representatives of the Russel 20-20 association on 18 May that there exist objective prerequisites for investments to be made in Ukraine as soon as possible. First and foremost, Ukraine has great potentials in the technical, industrial, and intellectual spheres. The low cost of a skilled labor force is an additional factor to ensure profitability of investments.

Moroz said the fact that more than 50 percent of state enterprises have been privatized is a prerequisite for investments to be made. He said that, in view of the importance of the legislative backing for the investment process, the Ukrainian parliament should pass six laws on the circulation of securities by the end of the current session.

The head of parliament said foreign and local investors are now in equal conditions.

Moroz said the consumer's market attracts most attention of foreign investors. At the same time, the head of parliament said that investments in the power engineering, machine-building, shipbuilding, and space industries should not be less effective.

Moroz believes that the adoption of the new Constitution will significantly stabilize the situation in Ukraine. "We will become a more reliable partner for foreign investors," he said.

Moroz stressed that the issue of correlation between the private and other forms of ownership would inevitably be debated in the course of the constitutional process. "The majority of political forces already now regard private ownership as the main guarantee of human rights," he said.

Russel 20-20 is a nonprofit association which includes General Electric, General Motors Invest Management, AT&T, Boeing, Levi Strauss, and other companies.

The aim of the association is to organize and use collective resources of its members for a search for reliable investment possibilities in Eastern Europe, the former USSR, China, and India.

**Ukraine: Kuchma's New Economic Adviser Comments on Job, Reform**

*WS2005132796 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 16 May 96 pp 1, 7*

[Interview with Volodymyr Lanovyy, the Ukrainian president's newly appointed adviser for economic issues, by Mykola Zakrevskyy; place and date not given: "Compromise Is an Art Necessary To Move Toward Market Economy" — first paragraph is Mykola Zakrevskyy introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The appointment of Volodymyr Lanovyy as presidential adviser for economic issues was, according to many observers, an unexpected event, while for many others — a natural one. Pointed criticism of addresses by the well-known economic scientist during Kuchma's premiership, as well as the lack of coincidence in opinions about some issues of the current economic policy allowed us to speak about a certain "reserve in relations." At the same time, the existing deficiency of staff in the president's "economic" entourage and a bitter remark by Leonid Kuchma at one of the recent Cabinet of Ministers sessions — "there is

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no single economic center in the government today" — enabled the injection of "fresh reformist blood." The point was whether Lanovyy would agree to assume responsibility, together with the president, for the further policy of economic reforms. If so, why? I posed this question to Volodymyr Tymofiyovych [Lanovyy] in a short telephone conversation.

[Lanovyy] Leonid Danylovych [Kuchma] has tried to implement in practice what others only spoke about. His course is a consequence of this and it will surely produce good results. Everybody was able to make sure of his firmness, honesty, and fearlessness to assume responsibility for the destinies of the people. In your opinion, where should my place be — together with the president or in opposition to him?

[Zakrevskyy] Does your consent to work as a presidential adviser mean that the president's approaches to reforming the economy coincide with yours?

[Lanovyy] Regarding the main directions, yes. However, as of today, the president's guidelines are not always implemented in a correct manner. At the lower levels, no mechanisms for their implementation have been worked out. There is still a lot of work to be done. Unless this is done, the reforms will produce no positive economic and social effects.

[Zakrevskyy] What has the government failed to do? And, in connection with this, what initiatives might the president propose in his directives?

[Lanovyy] So far we have not resolved the issue of correspondence between the structures of administration and the conditions of the new economic life. The system of administration is only trying mimicry and adaptation without changing anything in essence, without changing itself. Hence we have budget problems, high taxes, wage arrears, disorder in foreign settlements, an increase in internal nonpayments and the shadow turnover. The financial system is being decentralized too slowly. This is related to some extent to the lack of working capital on the part of enterprises and credit resources on the part of banks, as well as to the shortage of domestic funds for investments. So far, no necessary steps have been taken to break monopolies of economic systems in both the country as a whole and in regions. This means that the market of high prices and low-quality products will endure or, more precisely, it will be maintained by those deriving superhigh profits from monopolies.

[Zakrevskyy] Volodymyr Tymofiyovych, will your appointment not lead to a sort of unnecessary parallelism in the work with the central governmental staff which already includes persons responsible for the implementation of the economic reforms?

[Lanovyy] There should be no contradictions and divisions between the government and the president in the implementation of the economic reforms. The government is the central body of executive power. It is the government which primarily implements the economic transformations. As for the president, he ensures the consolidation of efforts by the government and nongovernmental bodies, as well as local authorities. This also relates to issues of the economic reform.

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## Belarus

### Belarus: Lukashenka on CIS Summit, Relations With Russia

*WS2005122796 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 20 May 96*

[Report by Svyatlana Ilyushenka, in Russian]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Belarusian state delegation led by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka has completed its visit to the Russian Federation. The main result of the visit was the participation of the Belarusian delegation in two significant events which produced results for our Republic. I refer to the 20th session of the heads of CIS states and the activities of the Interstate Council of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the Russian Federation within the framework of the treaty of four states on the deepening of integration. The session of the council was chaired by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka.

While the CIS summit was mostly of a political nature, given that the heads of state passed a declaration on supporting democratic processes in Russia which expressed hope that the Russians would make a choice in favor of an undivided democratic Russia, the session of the Interstate Council of four was oriented toward the resolution of specific economic and organizational issues. After the completion of the visit to Moscow, Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka gave an exclusive interview to Belarusian journalists.

[Begin recording] [Ilyushenka] What are the results of the meeting and what consequences will the Moscow summit have for Belarus?

[Lukashenka] You know, Svyatlana, we had two summits in Moscow. However, namely the decisions made by the session of the four — held on 16 May — will have great consequences for Belarus. We discussed concrete issues there, for instance we established international bodies. In the Community with Russia we have supranational bodies, and in the union of four we established international bodies. We held a session and discussed documents in great detail. We will make progress, and we agreed that we should urgently do something for our peoples to finally demonstrate to them that we work for them. We will soon attend a session of the Supreme Council of the Belarusian-Russian Community. It will be held some time in after the 20th; we will reach a specific agreement with Boris Yeltsin on the date of the session. There, we will make specific decisions, such as the recent decision on education. Our children will be able to go to Russia and enter any institution of higher learning, just as in the Soviet Union in the past.

Another issue that we discussed at a session of the Executive Committee was related to the medical treatment of our citizens. We agreed that Russians and Belarusians alike are entitled to free medical attention on the territories of our two states. This will be a great breakthrough.

We also agreed that we will now draft joint programs, including the Chernobyl program and many others. We are now discussing the issue of protecting our market in the good normal sense of this word. We should properly protect our market and our commodity producers. It would be good if we managed to agree on this with Russia.

We agreed that we should resolve the problems of our Armed Forces. Is the current situation normal? In essence, we do not need such a big Army. However, you understand perfectly well that we also protect Russia's western border. Therefore, we cannot finance the Army from our budget. Look what is going on in the Air Force! We have shortages of fuel, but we give our last reserves to the Air Force so that the aircraft fly and pilots retain their skills. We discussed this issue with Yevgeniy Primakov and we will soon resume discussing it and will look for its resolution. Real life and not [word indistinct] in Belarus will be governed by the treaty with Russia. Specific issues will be reflected in it.

Of course, there will be specific provisions in the treaty of four, too. There was a CIS [heads of state] session, and we approved a schedule, passed the aforementioned declaration [on support of democracy in Russia], and extended the status of the Russian peacekeeping troops in Abkhazia. We now need economic progress. Therefore, I believe that we will put emphasis on the Russian-Belarusian Community. Primakov will visit me and will present the current standpoint and approaches of the Russian president and the Russian Government, their vision of how we should cooperate within our Belarusian-Russian treaty. We talked about those things in Moscow and I was very pleased that Yeltsin remembers [about the treaty] and keeps the issue under control, despite the fact that he has no time. I was very pleased to hear Primakov say: Tell Alyaksandr Ryhoravich that Russia does not have a closer ally than the Belarusian president and Belarus itself; and that we are ready to do what we can to support Belarus.

I was very pleased to hear that. Incidentally, I have perfect relations with Primakov. He is a pragmatic minister and he has recently accomplished a lot.

Therefore, Svyatlana, when you ask me what Belarus will gain [from the summit], I will tell you: a bilateral treaty. In the framework of this treaty we will be able to achieve something tangible.

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[Unidentified reporter] Speaking about Belarus's cooperation with CIS states. Usually, some kind of uncertainty and ambiguities remained after summits such as the recent one, I would even say hard feelings. Please, tell me: You met with the Uzbek president in Moscow. Did you discuss the issues that were on the agenda of the summit, or other issues, too?

[Lukashenka] As for Uzbek president Islam Karimov, we mostly discussed two problems. First, the problem of mutual understanding. We have removed all misunderstandings. The other problem was the economy, which is very important. We still do not have a quota for Uzbek cotton, although we have been promised that we will. We have received only 2 million rubles worth of cotton, and therefore, the situation in the cotton industry is very dramatic. In Moscow, we reached full understanding and many freight cars have already been loaded with cotton and are ready to be sent to Belarus. Thus, we discussed two problems: the political [that of eliminating misunderstanding] and the economic problem [that of cotton deliveries and supplies of rolled copper].[end recording]

During the Belarusian president's visit to the Russian Federation, he held meetings with a number of leaders of CIS states. During his stay in Moscow, Alyaksandr Lukashenka met Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov. The issue of protecting the single information area was discussed with the leadership of the Russian television and radio company and the Mir interstate television and radio company. The stepping up of Belarusian-Russian relations in the area of culture was in the spotlight during President Lukashenka's meeting with famous actor and director Yevgeniy Matveyev and actress Tatyana Doronina.

**Belarus: Deputy FM Urges 'Modernization' of CFE**

*WS2005123396 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Belarusian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Maksim Hrek: "Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty Needs Modernization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The first conference on the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty [CFE] opened in Vienna on 15 May. The goal of this forum is improve the viability of the treaty in light of political changes on the continent.**

As a RESPUBLIKA correspondent has learned from the Foreign Ministry Department of Press and Information, Belarusian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrey Sannikaw addressed the conference's plenary meeting. The head of the Belarusian delegation presented our country's stance on the implementation of the treaty and its future.

It was emphasized that Belarus spent much more forces and means on the implementation of the CFE than many richer countries. We had to build from scratch an infrastructure to meet our commitments concerning the liquidation of weapons. Unfortunately, as our deputy foreign minister noted, Belarus has not received adequate assistance from our partners regarding the treaty.

Mr. Sannikaw emphasized that the situation changed with the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and in light of the plans to expand NATO, and the CFE currently needs modernization. Work on modernizing the regulations concerning control of weapons should envision expenditures which would be commensurate with the capabilities of member states. Otherwise, if real disarmament becomes a matter of only some states, it would be premature to talk about common security in Europe.

**Belarus: Foreign Ministry 'Surprised' by U.S. Stance on Human Rights**

*WS2005123196 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Ihar Ruban: "The Belarusian Foreign Ministry Is Surprised by the U.S. Department of State's Stance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **As everybody knows, during a recent news conference, Nicholas Burns, spokesman of the U.S. Department of State, spoke harshly about the observance of human rights in Belarus, having in mind some recent rallies held in the Republic.**

Undoubtedly, the Belarusian leadership cannot but heed the official stance of the United States. However, the Republic's executive authorities will be guided primarily by laws passed by the country's parliament. This was stated by Belarusian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Khvastow during a meeting with journalists at the Foreign Ministry.

According to him, the fact that Burns raised the issue concerning last year's incident with two U.S. balloonists is surprising. The Belarusian side, as Mikhail Khvastow said, considers this issue to have been settled a long time ago. After all, an appropriate document prepared by international experts has been sent to the International Organization of Civil Aviation.

On the other hand, the deputy foreign minister dwelt on an incident which occurred in our Republic last summer. At that time, three citizens of our Republic died as a result of a road accident caused by a U.S. diplomat who was employed in Kiev. According to Mikhail Khvastow, the U.S. Department of State has not been taking

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appropriate measures for repaying moral and material damages to the families of the deceased. After all, a criminal case proved that the U.S. diplomat was guilty. The high-ranking official of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry believes that if appropriate steps are not taken to resolve the problem in private, the Belarusian side will have to take measures at the state level.

**Belarus: Relations With Poland Expected To Deteriorate Further**

*WS2005142996 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 18 May 96 p 2*

[Commentary by Valyantsin Zhdanko: "Notes for 'Kwasniewski's Polonaise'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The exchange of notes between the Belarusian and Polish Foreign Ministries this week once again confirmed the sad fact that there is neither accord nor harmony in relations between Minsk and Warsaw. The detention and subsequent rapid expulsion of Polish "Solidarity" Chairman Marian Krasklewski and his companions will inevitably affect the atmosphere of bilateral relations.

The point is not only the fact that "Solidarity" is a particular political force in Poland: to a certain degree, it is a symbol of the battle with communism for democracy. The deportation of this movement's leader was a peculiar demonstration of the Belarusian authorities' attitude toward democratic Poland. At least, this is how well known Polish politicians and journalists have commented on the incident in Minsk.

Perhaps this incident would have not drawn so much attention if it had been a single unpleasant fact. The past few years, however, have abounded in unpleasant episodes in bilateral relations. Either the Belarusian special services would allude to the presence of Polish spies in our country (true, they have never been disclosed), or the authorities would begin a battle with Catholic Church missions. Either the speaker would dare to recall the centuries-old harm caused by Poland to Belarus, or an extravagant communist deputy-gourmet would publicly criticize the taste of Polish mustard in the parliament room, providing Soviet mustard as an example for the Poles....

All of these episodes, which at first glance may seem to be small and insignificant, have unintentionally become a trend, taking into account the frequency of their occurrence. The fundamental contradictions with regard to the issue of regional security and Poland's accession to the North Atlantic alliance have made the picture complete.

The leadership of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry was quite surprised by the harsh and categorical form in which the Polish Foreign Ministry reacted to the incident over the deportation of the trade union leaders. The "serious threat to friendly relations between our two countries," about which Warsaw warned, was actually a harsh phrase which is not often used by careful and reasonable diplomats. However, the point is that it does not just concern the latest incident, but the entire unfavorable climate which has developed on the two sides of the Bug River.

A close neighbor is something more than a relative, as people familiar with the secrets of a good social life say. This statement is particularly appropriate with regard to Belarus. The advantages of our state's convenient geographic location will immediately begin producing less results if relations with our western neighbors deteriorate, and the state border becomes less transparent for citizens and products. Moreover, Poland is one of our main economic partners in the West. [passage omitted]

**Belarus: Military Agreements Signed With Russia Described**

*WS2105065696 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 16 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Alyaksey Bezveselny: "A New Stimulus for Military Cooperation Between Russia and Belarus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **As has already been reported, a joint meeting of the Russian and Belarusian Defense Ministries Collegiums, headed by Army General Pavel Grachev and Lieutenant General Leanid Maltsaw, respectively, was held in Moscow at the Headquarters for Coordinating Military Cooperation of CIS Countries (ShKVS) on 13-14 May, in accordance with a previously approved timetable (the first meeting was held in Minsk in December 1995). The current "summit" of the two defense ministry chiefs was primarily supposed to coordinate main events aimed at implementing the 2 April 1996 Treaty on Establishing the Community [of Sovereign Republics] in the military area.**

At the plenary meeting held on Monday [13 May], issues submitted for joint consideration were finally detailed, and tasks concerning the drafting of a package of documents to be signed by the two states' defense ministers were defined. Moreover, during the first day, the main work was conducted in six working groups comprising the two ministries' collegium members and military experts.

From the Belarusian side, the following members of the collegium participated in the joint meeting of the

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Belarusian and Russian Defense Ministry Collegiums: Lieutenant General L. Maltsaw, defense minister; Lieutenant General A. Chumakow, chief of the Armed Forces Main Staff and first deputy defense minister; P. Rahazhewski, deputy defense minister for armaments; General Lieutenant V. Kastenka, commander of the Air Defense Troops; and Aviation Lieutenant General S. Syadow, commander of the Air Force Troops. A group of experts was led by Major General Yy. Partnow, military policy adviser to the defense minister.

Also participating in the Moscow joint meeting of the collegiums were representatives of the Belarusian Security Council, Colonel S. Smolski; the Cabinet of Ministers administration, I. Hurow; and the Ministry of Economy, V. Paskrobkin.

Over the course of two days, the members of the Belarusian and Russian military delegations discussed six issues.

On Tuesday, 14 May, during the continuing joint meeting of the two defense ministries' collegiums, reports by the chiefs of groups were heard, and all issues were finally coordinated. Following this, in the Column Room of the ShKVS, in the bright light of floodlights and camera flashshots, the Russian and Belarusian defense ministers ceremonially signed a package of 10 documents.

First, Army General P. Grachev and Lieutenant General L. Maltsaw signed a resolution resulting from the joint meeting of the Russian and Belarusian Defense Ministries Collegium. Following this, they signed proposals concerning a timetable for events aimed at implementing the Treaty on Establishing the Belarusian-Russian Community which was signed in Moscow on 2 April by Presidents A. Lukashenka and B. Yeltsin.

The second group of documents comprised the following protocols of intention: on coordinated planning and joint holding of operational training, on drafting a concept for a common defense policy, on defining elements of the military infrastructure and its further use and maintenance, and on issues concerning the development of principles of establishing a unified regional air defense system and its operation.

Also signed were a protocol on organizing joint receptions of military delegations and an agreement on cooperation in the area of military topography, cartography, and geodesy. Additionally, the heads of the Russian and Belarusian Defense Ministries approved a list of documents which are being drafted on issues concerning the joint planning of use of troops (forces) and a timetable for drafting documents on joint planning of use of a regional group of troops (forces).

During the meeting, particular attention was paid to the issue of cooperation in the area of joint training of military personnel. As everybody knows, an agreement on training our officers at Russian military academies (according to quotas and tuition) was reached previously.

This time, a debate on the possibility of joint training of Belarusian students at Russian Federation military schools became the topic for a serious conversation. Because of corresponding resolutions by the Russian legislation, certain difficulties emerged with regard to this issue. Army General Pavel Grachev, however, said that it is necessary to tackle this problem (and sign a corresponding intergovernmental agreement in June), so that our boys come to study in Russia as soon as 1 September this year.

After signing the final documents, Army General P. Grachev and Lieutenant General L. Maltsaw held a news conference for Russian and Belarusian journalists. (A detailed report on the news conference by our correspondent will be published in one of the next issues of our newspaper).

Concluding, the Russian and Belarusian defense ministers expressed their satisfaction with the results of the joint meeting of the two defense ministries' collegiums, and outlined plans for the future. The fruitful work and cooperation of the two countries' air defense troops was particularly highlighted. According to preliminary agreements, the third such meeting should be held in Minsk late June.

## Moldova

### Moldova: PPSM Leader Sobor Favors Swedish Political-Economic Model

*AU2005185196 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1910 GMT 18 May 96*

[Interview with Eugen Sobor, leader of the Party of Social Progress of Moldova, by unidentified BASAPRESS reporter; place and date not given: "The Future of Our Party Lies in the Creation of a Social Democratic Union"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 18/5/1996 (BASAPRESS)

[Reporter] Which segment of the political spectrum does the PPSM [Party of Social Progress of Moldova] considers to belong to? What are your estimations about voter support for the party in the future presidential and parliamentary elections, given the strong competition between political parties?

[Sobor] We are a left-of-the-center party of social-democratic orientation. We promote ideas of socialism,

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but not of the totalitarian one: we envision the future society structured by a social-democratic model. In Sweden, for instance, the Social Democrats "have polished" "the Swedish socialism" during more than 45 years and nobody has turned this "ism" into a scarecrow.

The need for social, political, and economic stability — this is the reason for the emergence of the PPSM, interested in a new kind of society — modern, viable, and rational. We are a small and young party, but with an intellectual potential which is capable of working out alternatives. So, we do not claim to become a "mass" party and do not want the absolute love of the electorate for our doctrine. The future of our party lies in the creation of a social-democratic union, which might include about five parties. But it requires time.

[Reporter] With what political parties might you get along for a possible cooperation?

[Sobor] We might get along with any party that supports the principles of Moldova's statehood, political stability, territorial integrity and promotion of reforms on the basis of a social market economy. In other words, the PPSM defines itself as a democratic party that could reform our society.

[Reporter] What are the PPSM's options about the "attitude to ownership?" If you were part of a ruling coalition, what would the ratio between the state sector and the private one be?

[Sobor] We opt for the diversification of ownership forms. The ratio between state and private sectors is a journalistic invention redolent of politics, which is too far from economics. Why are not the same Swedes asked why about 60 percent of their economy is under state control? Because they have a living standard much higher than in other states haunted by liberal capitalism. The doses reserved to the state and private sector are estimated out of the Gosplan [defunct central economic planning institution] state mentality and do not derive from modern economics.

[Reform] You refer to Sweden for the second time now. Do you not think the economic recession this country is in over the last years might be the outcome of the social-democrats' long ruling?

[Sobor] May God send upon us an economic crisis similar to Sweden's. It is the country with one of the highest living standards.

[Reporter] What are your comments on the correlation of forces in the leftwing? Where does the left start and end in Moldova's political spectrum? May the creation of a new leftist party — the Socialist Action Party — be regarded as a sign of the leftwing's fragmentation?

[Sobor] I think the presidential elections will show the true correlation of forces. In my opinion, the rightwing and the left-of-the-center will take clearer shapes. I am not aware about the creation of the Socialist Action Party, but, any move toward sectarianism will lead to a split within the left-centrist forces.

[Reporter] What do PPSM analysts forecast about developments in the rightwing?

[Sobor] The summer political maneuvers have already started there. Much fuss has been made of the kind "we also have something to show off," from which one can clearly see that during the second round the votes will be cast for the same rightwing, the only difference though, it would perhaps call itself the-right-of-the-center.

[Reporter] How much does a party lacking the experience of previous electoral campaigns approve or disapprove of the Law on Presidential Elections?

[Sobor] In our opinion, the law corresponds with international standards. It is a fabrication that the law is disadvantageous to some during the future electoral runup, which reveals fear and weakness in the face of voter option. These days, the electorate is "keener" than it was five years ago and it would be very difficult to brainwash them.

[Reporter] What qualities should a presidential nominee have to be supported by the PPSM?

[Sobor] First of all, I still hold on to my opinion that our small country might get along quite well without the presidential institution. And it is not just something Sobor says — there are examples when countries, hardly Moldova's size, are in much better condition than those with presidential institutions. And if the Moldovan megalomania, inherited from the totalitarian regime, still haunts us, then, I think the president must be elected by the entire Moldova, but not by several tens of districts. Only then will he have the right to speak from the name of the nation. The elections will be not only a political barometer but also a gauge of social emotions. I think society has sensed a tendency to preserve the uncertainty about the statehood, which is disputed, and does not enjoy proper protection in accordance with the Constitution — uncertainty about integrity and political stability, fear for tomorrow. I believe a "homo sapiens" who will break the uncertainty will win.

[Reporter] What are your comments about the forecasts that Speaker Petru Lucinschi will be the favorite of the leftist forces?

[Sobor] In our opinion, Lucinschi does not look like he might become the hostage of a single party or group. I know well this politician who dislikes servility. It is no

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secret that his political option is a left-centrist one, to be more specific, a social-democratic one, and some voters feel he will be able to break the barrier of uncertainty and instability that I have talked about.

[Reporter] On 16 May Petru Lucinschi said many parties proposed to him to run for the presidency and that very soon he would decide upon his involvement in presidential elections. Was the PPSM among them?

[Sobor] We have not yet made such proposals. Next week the PPSM board will be called in a plenary meeting to decide about the participation in the future elections.

**Moldova: Socialist Action Party Set Up; Cepoi Elected Chairman**

*AU2005181196 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1910 GMT 18 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 18/5/1996 (BASA-PRESS) — About 100 delegates met in a congress today in Chisinau to announce the constitution of the Socialist Action Party.

In his report to the congress, Aurel Cepoi, deputy of the Socialist Unity faction and chairman of the new party, said Moldova "lacks a truly leftist party."

According to him, the Socialist Party is trying to revive the Soviet regime and the Unitate-Edinstvo Movement is essentially nationalistic, discriminating people by ethnic criteria.

Cepoi accused the Communist Party of attempting to push the society to "socialist market relations" and restoring the former USSR.

"And on top of that, these parties, by their statements against the President of Moldova, discredit the young democracy," said Cepoi.

The leader of the new party called privatization "a delayed-action social bomb," adding the international organizations' prescriptions are not honestly applied by the current ruling party.

The congress adopted the charter and manifesto, which says the party aims at "changing and structuring the economic mechanism by market laws."

**Moldova: Socialist Action Party Head Cepoi Interviewed on Goals**

*AU2005184596 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1910 GMT 18 May 96*

[Interview with Aurel Cepoi, chairman of the Socialist Action Party, by unidentified BASA-PRESS reporter; place and date not given: "There Is No True Leftwing Party"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 18/5/1996 (BASA-PRESS)

[Reporter] Why do you think a new party is needed in Moldova?

[Cepoi] First of all because we do not have a truly leftwing party. The current leftist parties — the Socialist Party, which I have left and the Party of Communists — are opposed to private ownership. They fail to understand that the values of socialism are compatible with private ownership. And besides, the leftist parties in this country still nourish the idea of revival of a unitary state in the former Soviet space. I think a leftwing party created in Moldova, but which does not believe in the future of this country has no future. And I am disappointed at the performance of our leftist parties in fighting corruption and favoritism.

[Reporter] Which is the pivot of the new ideology that underlies the platform of the new Socialist Action Party?

[Cepoi] Fight against corruption and favoritism, recognition of legitimacy of the current regime in Moldova, promotion of private ownership, and possibilities of its assertion.

[Reporter] Have you left the Socialist Party?

[Cepoi] Of course, I left all structures of the Socialist Party. I was the leader of the organization in Ungheni — well, I left it and most of its members did so.

[Reporter] Have you left the Socialist Unity faction in Parliament?

[Cepoi] No, because the plurality principle is respected within the Socialist Unity.

[Reporter] Let us revert to the ideological platform of the party you are going to create. I understood the future party would be especially concerned with economic issues. Which are the ideological points of the new foundation of the Socialist Action Party?

[Cepoi] I do not think our party has something new to say in the economic area. Of course, reforms in our country are to a great extent influenced by U.S. companies and the IMF [International Monetary Fund], which help us. You have nothing to change here. But I think this model could be realized by a new honest team. I am personally frightened at the thought that 20 percent of GDP is produced in the underground economy. The main objective in the economic area that we have is fighting corruption and favoritism.

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[Reporter] What will be the concrete means to achieve this goal?

[Cepoi] We know concrete cases of corruption. All wrongdoings are not countered, while all lead directly to the top echelon of Moldovan leadership. We will fight that by public statements and notifications in Parliament.

[Reporter] Saying you will fight corruption whose paths lead to the power's pyramid top, do we have to understand that you are in opposition?

[Cepoi] We are in opposition to this economic and financial mob that has political branches, which stimulate the growth of the underground economy.

[Reporter] You will probably be accused by colleagues of fragmenting the left wing. Some claim the new party you will head is the party of the current Parliament Speaker Lucinschi. Could you confirm or deny these claims?

[Cepoi] We are now interested to set up the party, to register it with the court as required by law, and only after that will we venture in any political fight.

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## Tajikistan

### Tajikistan: Rakhmanov Favors Early Resumption of Inter-Tajik Talks

*LD2005173596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1507 GMT 20 May 96*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Emomali Rakhmanov stated that as before the Tajik government controls the situation in all regions of Tajikistan despite the opposition leaders' attempts to destabilize the situation "through external forces and criminal elements inside the country."

He told U.N. Secretary-General Butrus-Butrus Ghali after the CIS summit in Moscow that he blamed the Tajik opposition for the deterioration of the military-political situation in Tajikistan.

Despite that, said Rakhmanov, the Tajik leaders "advocate the earliest possible resumption of the inter-Tajik talks during which it is ready to demonstrate "the necessary flexibility". He also expressed the hope that "after all, a general agreement will be concluded with the opposition on the establishment of peace and agreement in the country."

He told the U.N. secretary-general that he would like him to attend the signing ceremony "if it ever occurs."

IF Note: the U.N. secretary-general's newly-appointed special envoy in Tajikistan Dietrich Merrem stated following his talks with Rakhmanov that the inter-Tajik talks were likely to be resumed at the end of June.

Rakhmanov also blamed the Tajik opposition for dodging the implementation of the Teheran agreements on cease-fire in Tajikistan and on the Tajik-Afghan border.

Rakhmanov believes that the documents which he and leader of the United Tajik Opposition Said Abdullo Nuri signed in Teheran with U.N. mediation are laying a solid foundation for the earliest possible settlement of the general Tajik problem.

He said that he had met with Nuri on two occasions and reaffirmed his earlier statements on his readiness to meet with him "for the sake of peace and accord in Tajikistan."

The Tajik leaders said Rakhmanov views the observance of the cease-fire agreement as "a prerequisite for promoting the inter-Tajik political dialogue for the sake of restoring peace and agreement in Tajikistan in strict accordance with the constitution." He also reaffirmed the Tajik leaders' readiness to prolong the Teheran agreement for the entire period of the negotiating process.

Rakhmanov condemned the opposition for the increasingly frequent violations of the Teheran agreement on cease-fire. The opposition continues to build up its military presence in the Pamirs and on the Tajik-Afghan border, which can be judged from a major offensive in the Tavil Dara region on May 9, he said. He also pointed out that the opposition units consisted not only of Tajik citizens, but also foreign mercenaries. "This instance of gross violation of the Teheran agreement" was quoted in the report by the U.N. observers in Tajikistan, said Rakhmanov.

During the offensive in the Tavil Dara region, he went on to say, the opposition used children, women and old people as a live shield.

To avoid bloodshed among civilians the government troops had to leave Tavil Dara, he said.

Rakhmanov expressed "serious concern" about the continuing chaos and bloodshed in neighboring Afghanistan - "a destructive external factor influencing the situation in Tajikistan." He urged the international community "to take a more active part" in restoring peace in Afghanistan which has to do with security in the whole of the Central Asian region.

He advocates further dialogue with the opposition "despite the attempts to foil the peace talks and to use them as a cover for toppling the constitutional authorities." He said that Dushanbe was ready to accept the U.N. peace plan on Tajikistan, proposed during the latest round of the inter-Tajik talks in Ashgabat. However, the opposition "has categorically turned down the peace initiative," he said.

At the same time, Rakhmanov expressed gratitude to the U.N. for its peacemaking efforts and reaffirmed Dushanbe's readiness "to continue to cooperate with this authoritative international organization not only in the inter-Tajik settlement, but also in Tajikistan's involvement in its development programs."

"Thanks to the United Nations' efficient mediatory efforts and support from the friendly states we have stopped the civil war and made much progress in Tajik settlement," said Rakhmanov. "Since the constitutional authority was restored," he said, "the Tajik leaders have been building a democratic and secular society with a market economy, tackling all of the Tajik problems exclusively with peaceful means."

Butrus-Butrus Ghali said in his turn that the U.N. was ready to continue cooperation with Tajikistan. He expressed the hope that Dushanbe would take additional measures to ensure the U.N. observers' free movement in Tajikistan for the purpose of perfecting

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the mechanism of control over the observance of the cease-fire regime.

**Tajikistan: Moscow Mayor Visits Border Guard Unit**

*LD2005184196 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1621 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, May 20 (Itar-Tass) — Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, who arrived in Dushanbe on Monday [20 May], visited the 12th outpost of the Moscow border guard unit which has been under the patronage of the Moscow authorities for two years.

Luzhkov bestowed various awards on Russian border guards and handed over 1.5 billion roubles worth of humanitarian aid which included food products, medicines and stationary for the children of the Russian military in Tajikistan.

The Moscow mayor praised the officers and soldiers guarding the southern frontiers of the CIS and lauded their courage and selflessness.

In the evening, Luzhkov met Tajik President Emomali Rakhmanov. The meeting was held in camera. Its details were not immediately known.

On Tuesday, the mayor will visit a hospital where Russian border guards are undergoing medical treatment. In the evening, he will return to Moscow.

**Tajikistan: Opposition Seeks International Aid for Tavildara Region**

*LD2105100796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0912 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TOLUQAN (AFGHANISTAN), May 21 (Interfax) — The united Tajik opposition has urged international humanitarian organizations and countries observing the inter-Tajik talks to render "any humanitarian aid they can afford" to the population of the Tavildara region, about 250 kilometers east of Dushanbe.

A statement signed by leader of the united Tajik opposition Sayed Abdullo Nuri, passed to Interfax Tuesday, says that "while retreating following clashes with opposition units, the Tajik forces are confiscating food and cattle from the local population."

"The residents of Tavildara are faced with the danger of starvation. Some people have already starved to death," reads the document.

The statement also says that the roads leading to Tavildara have been blocked by the government forces, which "do not allow the population to take food to the hunger-stricken region."

"The population of Tavildara has no access to medical services or medicines. Moreover, the region is permanently being bombed," says the statement.

Earlier, the Tajik Ministry of Labor had announced that about 1,500 refugees had arrived in Dushanbe from the Tavildara region. Every refugee receives a one-off benefit of 800 Tajik rubles ($1 equals 275 Tajik rubles).

Refugees also receive food and medical aid and those who have no relatives in Dushanbe have been accommodated in a vocational school.

**Tajikistan: Rebels 'Closer Than Ever to Success'**

*MM2105104996 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 96 p 7*

[Report by Vladimir Berezovskiy: "Tajikistan: Bitter Time of Choice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The flame of civil war has once again issued forth from the gorges of the Pamir. The Islamic opposition has captured the rayon center of Tavildara. Government troops proved unprepared to rebuff field commander Mirzo Dzhagi's onslaught. And only a tight-knit covering force of Russian "green berets" prevented the opposition from moving up reinforcements — a detachment under the command of Mulla Saraf — from Afghanistan.

Dzhobirov, deputy chairman of Tajik state security, rejected the claims of large losses and hundreds of prisoners. According to him, the situation in Tavildara is complex but not critical. The rayon center was surrendered in order to avoid using artillery, otherwise there would have been civilian casualties.

But I do not think that is the point. So far the Tajik Army has regrettably failed to find its feet or grow strong. Eyewitnesses say that many soldiers scatter virtually when the first shots are fired.

These days guardsmen and police carrying assault rifles are picking up guys throughout Dushanbe and sending them off to Army muster posts. But virtually half of them are hiding in remote villages in order not to go to war.

The Collective Peacekeeping Forces [CPF] have taken power stations, dams, government establishments, major enterprises under their protection and posted checkpoints around the capital. Russian children are taken home from school in military trucks. According to many officers of the 201st Russian Division, which forms the backbone of the CPF, the defensive tactics employed against the armed opposition are extremely ineffective. The initiative remains with the guerrillas, who pick the time and place for their attacks.

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The front line today runs through the mouth of the Obikhingou River and the Vakhsh tributary. If the guerrillas consolidate their hold, they will cut off Gornyy Badakhshan from the center. And that means just one thing: another wave of civil war.

It must be admitted that the Islamic opposition is closer than ever to success. Official Dushanbe has "helped" in this regard by making many mistakes and unwittingly opening up a "second front." The greatest mistake being the "Kulyabization of the whole country," as people in Tajikistan are now saying.

People from this small city [Kulyab] played a crucial role in routing the Islamists in 1992. Under People's Front red banners they entered the corridors of power and as the victors evicted all outsiders. The balance of regional interests — something that even the CPSU Central Committee Department for Organizational and Party Work had taken into consideration — was upset. And the mass poverty and criminal anarchy only added fuel to a smoldering fire.

An unauthorized rally has been in full swing since 12 May in northern Tajikistan, in Khudzhand, the center of Leninabad province, with its population of 130,000. The authorities, as far as they were able, have kept quiet about this popular disturbance and the reasons behind it. There is no secret here. In the city there are frequent holdups with gas, water, bread, and payment of wages is delayed for months.... And there has also been a series of killings. Rumor ascribes the crimes to people from Kulyab who have "taken over" the local police. Demands can be heard for the resignation of recently appointed provincial governor Kasym Kasymov.

The Dushanbe authorities have moved three planeloads of riflemen into the province. So far there have been no reports of bloodshed here. But anything is possible. As happened in the city of Ura-Tyube on the border with Uzbekistan. Its Mayor Khasanov gave orders for goods at the local bazaar to be sold solely for Tajikistan rubles. City police chief Kukuzov, who is once again from Kulyab and has already been sacked twice, rushed to zealously carry out the instructions. The custodians of order arrested two guys at the bazaar 13 May who were selling goods for Russian rubles and dollars and gave them a brutal beating. In response a mob of young people advanced on the police building. Kukuzov gave the order to open fire: Six people were killed on the spot and over 10 were injured. The enraged youths armed themselves with stones, iron bars, and sticks and set fire to the homes of the prosecutor, th[illegible]ayor, and several policemen.

The exhausted country is in turmoil from Pik Kommunizma [mountain] in Gornyy Badakhshan to the shores of Kayrakum. It is evidently time for President Emomali Rakhmonov to make a serious choice.

**Stop-Press**

It is known from recept reports that the rally in Khudzhand is over. Premier Ya. Azimov, Republic Prosecutor A. Azimov, and Interior Minister S. Zukhurov persuaded the people to go home by promising to restore order in cadre policy. The disturbances in Isfara and Shakhristan, where the local police are also led by people from Kulyab, have subsided.

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## Armenia

### Armenia: Ter-Petrosyan, Kuchma on Communist 'Threat'

*964F2185A Yerevan RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA in Russian 15 May 96 p 1*

[Karen Topchyan report: "Positions Coincide Fully: Yerevan and Kiev Make No Secret of the Fact That They Will Oppose Communist Revanche"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The official visit of President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma to Armenia, which began yesterday, has raised, in the opinion of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the relationship between the two countries to a higher level. This is what he declared at yesterday's news conference following the signing of a package of bilateral documents. The most important of them is the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the Republic of Armenia and Ukraine. Among other documents, I would mention the agreements on cultural cooperation, the avoidance of dual taxation, cooperation in the sphere of medicine and health care in the period 1996-1998, and so forth.

It became apparent from the answers of both presidents to questions of representatives of the news media that on the majority of issues Armenia and Ukraine have an "absolute coincidence of positions" (Leonid Kuchma) or a "new concurrence of positions" (Levon Ter-Petrosyan). This applies to both bilateral relations and integration processes within the CIS and also problems of a settlement of existing conflicts on the territory of the former Union ("These conflicts may be resolved only peacefully, on the basis of compromise"—L. Ter-Petrosyan.) To a question from RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA as to whether the opening of an embassy of Ukraine in Yerevan may be expected any time soon, Leonid Kuchma replied in the affirmative. According to the Ukrainian leader, "our relations are not opportunist, in the interests of one party, but are for the long term, for the rest of our lives, as they say. I sincerely thank the president for the warm reception that was accorded our delegation and, most important, for the mutual understanding of all the problems that exist today in this transitory world and for the readiness to proceed together, helping each other in their resolution."

A principal topic of the Ter-Petrosyan-Kuchma negotiations was, as it turned out, the June presidential elections in Russia. Expressing a common opinion with Leonid Kuchma in this connection, the Armenian president declared plainly that "a victory of the democratic forces in Russia is in the common interests of all the CIS states. Because a democratic Russia represents no threat. But a communist Russia is an all-around threat. As everything was for 70 years, so it would be henceforward. So we make no secret of our positions here, we will do everything to support the forces in Russia that profess the ideas of democracy, equality, and respect for all states of the world." In addition, Levon Ter-Petrosyan emphasized that he and his Ukrainian colleague subscribed to the joint declaration of the presidents of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan on support for the democratic forces in Russia. For his part, Leonid Kuchma added that Russia's presidential elections are today not only the internal affair of Russia itself: "While not interfering in Russia's internal affairs, we are required, nonetheless, to say our piece in order that there be no reverse process, since a reverse process would be fraught with very negative phenomena for the whole world." As far, though, as integration processes within the CIS are concerned, the Ukrainian president believes that "when we can answer the question as to why politics is placed ahead of all other questions, then there will be mutual understanding within the Commonwealth and it will be possible to work on a bilateral basis also. I consider this the main priority."

It is expected that the Ukrainian leader will today visit the National Assembly of Armenia and address the lawmakers. His visit to our country ends today.

## Georgia

### Georgia: Country Granted 'Special Guest' Status in Council of Europe

*AU2105094496 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 15 May 96 p 1*

[Report by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Service — SAKINFORM: "Georgia Will Be Granted Special Guest Status in the Council of Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 13 May, a delegation from the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by Foreign Minister Irakliy Menagharishvili was received at the headquarters of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg by Daniel Tarschys, secretary general of the Council of Europe.

Then, at a meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers, Irakli Menagharishvili delivered a report on the sociopolitical and economic situation in Georgia and prospects for mutual relations between Georgia and the Council of Europe.

Meetings were held with Hans-Peter Fourier [name as transliterated], director for political affairs, Parliamentary Assembly Secretary Bruno Galer [name as transliterated], Paul Maponi [name as transliterated], assistant secretary of the European Court of Human Rights, Prof. Stefan Trechsel, chairman of the European Commission

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of Human Rights, and Hans-Christian Krueger, secretary of this comission.

Support for the current course pursued by the authorities in Georgia and the necessity of protecting its territorial integrity were confirmed at the meetings held.

The Committee for Relations With Nonmember Countries unanimously approved the report on granting Georgia special guest status. In accordance with procedure, the final decision will be adopted by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly.

**Georgia: Russian Troops in Georgia Modify Army Jubilee Celebrations**

*LD2105102996 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 0920 GMT 21 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tbilisi, 21 May — Because of the negative attitude of the Georgian authorities, the command of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus changed the program of celebrations to mark the 75th anniversary of the Transcaucasus military district. An IPRINDA correspondent was told this at the press center of the Russian troops headquarters.

According to the new program, celebrations will only take place on the premises of the headquarters. A military review, meetings with veterans, and a festive meeting and concert will be held there on 22 May. [passage omitted]

The press center said that Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev is expected to attend the celebrations.

**Georgia: Iran Agrees To Restructure Country's Gas Debt**

*AU2105105396 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian 16 May 96 p 2*

[Report by Keti Meroshvili: "Iran Agrees To Restructure the Gas Debt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A news conference held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was devoted to the visit by a Georgian delegation to Iran on 12-13 May. According to Deputy Foreign Minister Malkhaz Kakabadze, [Kazakh President] Nazarbayev confirmed his position and stated that a part of Kazakh oil would be shipped via Georgia.

One of the important issues in the meeting between E. Shevardnadze and [Iranian President] Rafsanjani was the gas debt. As was stated, the Georgian side asked whether it was possible to restructure this debt, to which Iran agreed.

REZONANSI has already reported that, as a result of the visit, two agreements were drawn up: On cooperation in the sphere of [regulating] transit relations and railway communications between four states — Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

As was stated, the general principle underlying the implementation of transit tariffs will be established on the basis of this agreement. It is significant that these tariffs are 50 percent less than other existing tariffs.

The signing of no less important documents will take place at the end of May during Uzbek President Karimov's visit to Georgia. As a result of the bilateral agreement, 50 metric tons [figure as published] of goods will be transported through Georgia annually along the route Uzbekistan-Turkmenistan-Azerbaijan (train ferry)-Georgian ports (by railway) from where the goods will be shipped to their points of destination.

**Georgia: Top Officials To Draft Program for Settling Abkhaz Conflict**

*AU2005130496 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 1 May 96 p 1*

["Directive of the Georgian President on Elaborating a State Program for Settling the Conflict in Abkhazia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Parliament Decree of 17 April 1996 "On Measures To Settle the Conflict in Abkhazia," recommends that, in accordance with the new realities of the military and political, constitutional, legal, socioeconomic, and information situation, the National Security Council is to elaborate within two months a state program for settling the conflict in Abkhazia.

I. Menagharishvili, Georgian minister of foreign affairs, State Security Minister Sh. Kviraia, Defense Minister V. Nadibaidze, I. Machavariani, Georgian president's personal representative-adviser on the question of settling political problems and conflicts pertaining to the country's security, together with the participation of interested departments and organizations, in accordance with new realities, are to elaborate a state program for settling the conflict in Abkhazia and present it for discussion to the National Security Council by 20 May 1996.

[Signed] E. Shevardnadze

**Georgia: Georgian, Abkhaz Elite Units in Exercises Near Tbilisi**

*LD1905184996 Moscow NTV in Russian 1555 GMT 19 May 96*

[From the "Itogi" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian Foreign Minister Irakli Menagharishvili told journalists today that his republic

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did not lay claim to strike ships of the Black Sea fleet, in particular aircraft carriers. ITAR-TASS reports the minister as saying that these were too expensive a luxury. However, Menagharishvili confirmed Georgia's intention to seek the handover of those Black Sea fleet ships which are necessary for the defence of the republic's borders.

The Georgian special-purpose units today demonstrated how the republic should be defended. Nugzar Kilisilidze reports with the details:

On the territory of the Mukhiani military unit near Tbilisi, where Count Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy served in 1852, and in his spare time worked on his novel "War and Peace", elite subunits of Georgia's armed forces put on a display of exercises today. The assault brigade and the Alpha, Omega, and Delta special-purpose battalions of the Georgian State Security Ministry, which are considered to be the best trained and come under the command of the supreme commander in chief, demonstrated their high level of skill. The personnel of these subunits was completely renewed after the Security Ministry got a new head, Lt-Gen Shota Kviraia, who replaced in the post Igor Giorgadze after the latter was accused of organizing an act of terrorism against Eduard Shevardnadze.

Alpha special-purpose troops from the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia Security Ministry took part in the exercises for the first time, and predominant among the invited guests were members of the Abkhaz leadership who are in Tbilisi.

Asked by journalists whether Georgia's armed forces were ready to establish control in the event that the peacekeeping forces leave Abkhazia, Eduard Shevardnadze replied:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] The Georgian Army will control the situation throughout Georgia. [end recording]

Experts commented unanimously that the exercises by the Security Ministry units looked much more effective than the recent exercises by the Defense Ministry's motorized rifle platoon. The Georgian leadership is determined in its intention to restore the country's territorial integrity, but it is not yet clear what path will be chosen to do so: the path of peace or war. This depends, incidentally, not on the position of official Tbilisi alone.

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## Latvia

### Latvia: Foreign Minister Favors Baltic Cooperation With Russia

*LD1805115096 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1100 GMT 18 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview with today's edition of the newspaper NEATKARIGA RITA AVIZE, Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs says that he supports the Baltic countries' cooperation with Russia. At the same time, he stresses that Latvia's aim is still to join NATO, and there is no alternative to membership of this organzation. The minister says that cooperation with Russia is a condition put forward by NATO for the admission of Latvia. Russia's threats to NATO and neighboring states, (?heard in political or military circles), are not the official policy of the Russian Foreign Ministry, he says.

### Latvia: Foreign Minister Rejects Russian Initiative on CIS

*WS2005112696 Tallinn BNS in English 0343 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, May 18, BNS — Latvia will not approve of a Russian iniative and join the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Baltic country's Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs told BNS.

Latvia sees no alternative for NATO membership, Birkavs told a newspaper. In his words, Latvia's integration into NATO would also benefit bilateral relations with Russia.

Latvia aims at having good neighborly relations with Russia, the NEATKARIGA RITA AVIZE newspaper quoted Birkavs as saying.

"Russia opposes our admission to NATO because it would mean a total loss of influence (in the Baltic region) but then our cooperation would develop more safely and actively," the minister said.

Latvia's CIS-related policies are based on the establishment of friendly bilateral contacts as the Baltic country is not seeking the admission to an organization that tries to unite the former Soviet republics, he told BNS.

Birkavs sees no need for an urgent meeting of the Latvian and Russian presidents. In his opinion, his meeting with Russian counterpart Yevgeniy Primakov would be more important at the present moment.

Latvian Prime Minister Andris Skele said, however, that he would gladly meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"It (Russia) is a very important great power in our neighborhood and Latvia praises good relations with all neighbors, especially the big ones," said Skele.

The Latvian leaders made the comments in view of an initiative by Yeltsin who said Friday that he would like to meet Baltic presidents on opportunities for them to join the CIS.

Speaking to reporters after a summit of the CIS leaders in Moscow Friday, Yeltsin said he plans to meet the Baltic heads of state to "agree on our further steps in developing the Commonwealth." He said this was to be done taking into account the numerous Russian-speaking diaspora population in those countries.

He said the Commonwealth was ready to accept any country as a new member. "We would be glad if the Baltic states joined us," he said.

### Latvia: Prime Minister Views Relations With Russia

*WS1705095196 Tallinn BNS in English 1609 GMT 16 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, May 16, BNS — Russia is not putting forward any political conditions for economic cooperation with Latvia, the Baltic country's Prime Minister Andris Skele told a newspaper.

In an interview to the Russian-language SM-Segodna paper, Skele described his recent meeting with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Sweden as a completely businesslike meeting of businesspeople.

Russia is not raising political conditions for transiting its oil through the Latvian port of Ventspils, Skele noted.

Latvia's wish to join NATO has not affected its economic dialogue with Russia, Skele told the newspaper.

In Skele's words, Latvia should favor Russia as a trade partner.

"For us Russia is a huge country with which to carry out trade and economic relations (...) and we as mediators (between the West and the East) can make good profit," he said.

During the meeting in Visby, Chernomyrdin agreed to visit Riga, said Skele but he did not elaborate.

### Latvia: Latvian Soldiers To Join Swedish Forces in Bosnia

*LD1805110396 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 18 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening Latvian soldiers will joining with Swedish soldiers in order to take part

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in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Swedish Defense Minister Thage Peterson has announced. A Latvian company of some 130 soldiers is due to begin training, together with a Swedish unit, in order to replace a battalion in Bosnia at the end of September, where Latvian soldiers are likewise incorporated in a Swedish unit.

## Lithuania

### Lithuania: Brazauskas Says Baltics Will Not Join CIS

*LD2005162796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1447 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, May 20 (Interfax) — Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas rejected the possibility of the Baltic states joining the Commonwealth of Independent States, but expressed his readiness to meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"Lithuania's priorities are integration into the European Union and NATO," Brazauskas told journalists Monday, responding to Yeltsin's May 17 comments on the results of the CIS summit.

Yeltsin said, among other things, that the CIS is ready to welcome new countries into its fold. "We would be glad if the Baltic states joined us," he said.

Brazauskas said that Lithuania's rejection of the CIS is "determined by the Constitutional Act of June 8, 1992, on the country's not joining any post-Soviet Eastern blocs," and the 1991 referendum, "during which the entire country voted for an independent, democratic government." But Brazauskas confirmed Lithuania's wish to "maintain good relations and work together with our neighbors."

"We have proven that we know how to cooperate and will do this in the future, with Russia as well, despite a number of unsolved problems between our countries," he said.

Among these is an agreement on a border. "We have settled on borders with all our neighbors except Russia, with which talks, for some reason, continue to drag," he said.

As for Yeltsin's comments on the necessity of meeting with Baltic leaders for reaching agreements "on future steps for developing cooperation," Brazauskas expressed his readiness. Such meetings "are very useful for solving specific problems, as well as for maintaining a constant intergovernmental dialogue," he said.

### Lithuania: Russia 'Being Dislodged' as Main Trading Partner

*MM1605133996 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 96 p 9*

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich: "Lithuania Changes Foreign Trade Guidelines" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lithuania's foreign trade turnover rose 31 percent last year to 22.8 billion litas. The republic exported output worth almost 10.8 billion litas (as against 8.007 billion litas in 1994) and imported output worth over 12 billion litas (9.35 billion litas in 1994). These figures were cited at a news conference at Government House by Trade and Industry Minister Kazimieras Klimasauskas.

And although the foreign trade deficit of around 1.25 billion litas last year had hardly changed compared with the previous year, the structural changes in export policy are obvious. Whereas Lithuania previously maintained a relatively stable foreign trade balance by means of re-export, mainly of Russian semi-manufactured goods, raw materials, and resources, now the proportion of output produced by Lithuania itself has increased considerably.

For the first time, for example, textiles and textile goods account for a large proportion of Lithuania's exports — 1.6 billion litas or 14.8 percent of Lithuania's export. Exports of industrial output (12.3 percent of total export), machinery and equipment, and television and radio apparatus (10.8 percent) have also increased. According to K. Klimasauskas, there is now a real opportunity to reduce the balance of trade deficit given the increase of almost one-third in industrial production in the republic over the past year and the improved quality and competitiveness of goods produced in the country.

There have also been considerable changes in the "geography" of Lithuanian exports and imports. Although Russia remains Lithuania's main trading partner, taking 20.4 percent of Lithuania's exports last year and providing 29.1 percent of its imports, Lithuania has sharply switched its attention from the East to West. According to the Department of Statistics' figures, in 1994 Russia accounted for almost one-third of the republic's exports — 28.2 percent — but last year the figure fell to less than one-fourth. Nevertheless, Russia is still Lithuania's leading foreign trade partner.

Similar processes are taking place in trade with other CIS countries too. The Lithuanian statistics show that over the past six years, from 1990 through 1995, the volume of Lithuania's exports to the CIS countries fell

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from 84.7 percent to 42.4 percent while imports from the CIS fell from 72.5 percent to 37.6 percent.

At the same time, as you might expect, foreign trade turnover with Western states increased sharply. Over the same six-year period exports to West Europe rose from 15.3 percent to 57.6 percent and imports rose from 27.5 percent to 62.4 percent. Over the past year exports to the European Union rose from 25.4 percent to 41.5 percent.

Russia is gradually being dislodged from its position as trade leader by Germany, whose goods are dominating the Lithuanian domestic market. Last year Lithuania imported goods worth 1.87 billion litas from that country, amounting to 15.6 percent of total imports (13.8 percent in 1994). Lithuanian exports to Germany last year rose from 11.5 percent to 14.4 percent (1.56 billion litas). In the opinion of Lithuanian economists, if such trends persist Russia could fall to second in the list of Lithuania's main trade partners as early as this year.

**Lithuania: Suspected Attacker of Russian Diplomat Arrested**

*LD2005115096 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 20 May 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Embassy's hijacked Volvo-940 has been found by the Vilnius police and the suspect has been arrested, the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE reported. The vehicle was found in a Vilnius garage.

The year-old Volvo was hijacked on Thursday. The criminal fired a gun at Vladimir Pozdorovkin, first secretary of the Russian Embassy in Vilnius, who attempted to prevent the criminal driving the car away. Pozdorovkin sustained a leg injury.

According to unofficial sources, police officers had knowledge of the car being hidden in a garage on Taikos Street [residential districts of Vilnius] as early as Friday. The garage was kept under police surveillance until Sunday, when the suspect returned to the garage and was arrested there.

The case is being investigated by the Vilnius District Prosecutor's Office and by the organized crime investigation service of Vilnius Police Commissioner's Office.

Meanwhile, the injured Russian diplomat is recovering and is already able to walk with the help of crutches. If his temperature remains at normal level, doctors intend to discharge him from the hospital on Friday.

**Lithuania: Jursenas Elected Chairman of Ruling Democratic Labor Party**

*LD1805152496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1337 GMT 18 May 96*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, May 18 (Interfax) - Lithuanian Parliamentary Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas, 58 years old, was elected as chairman of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party during the party's congress in Vilnius on Saturday.

A total of 330 delegates supported his election as the party's chairman with 82 votes against and no abstentions.

Jursenas, a professional journalist, has led the Lithuanian parliament since November 1992. He was named as the party's acting chairman at the beginning of 1996 after the party's previous chairman Adolfas Slezevicius tendered resignation following his dismissal as the prime minister in connection with the banking crisis in the country.

Jursenas said he believed it necessary to maintain the united Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party as a guarantor of democracy in the country. The party's disappearance would pave the way to the extreme right-wing forces' rise to power, he said.

The party's congress will name the first 20 candidates to the national parliament on the party list. The final list of the party's 113 nominees will be approved during the congress' second stage planned for September.

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